ROBERT E. LEE AND THE HAND OF GOD

NORTH & SOUTH

THE OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF THE CIVIL WAR SOCIETY

VOLUME 6 • NUMBER 2

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED AT BENTONVILLE?

MARK L. BRADLEY

THE BATTLE OF MANSFIELD

STEVE BOUNDS AND CURTIS MILBOURN

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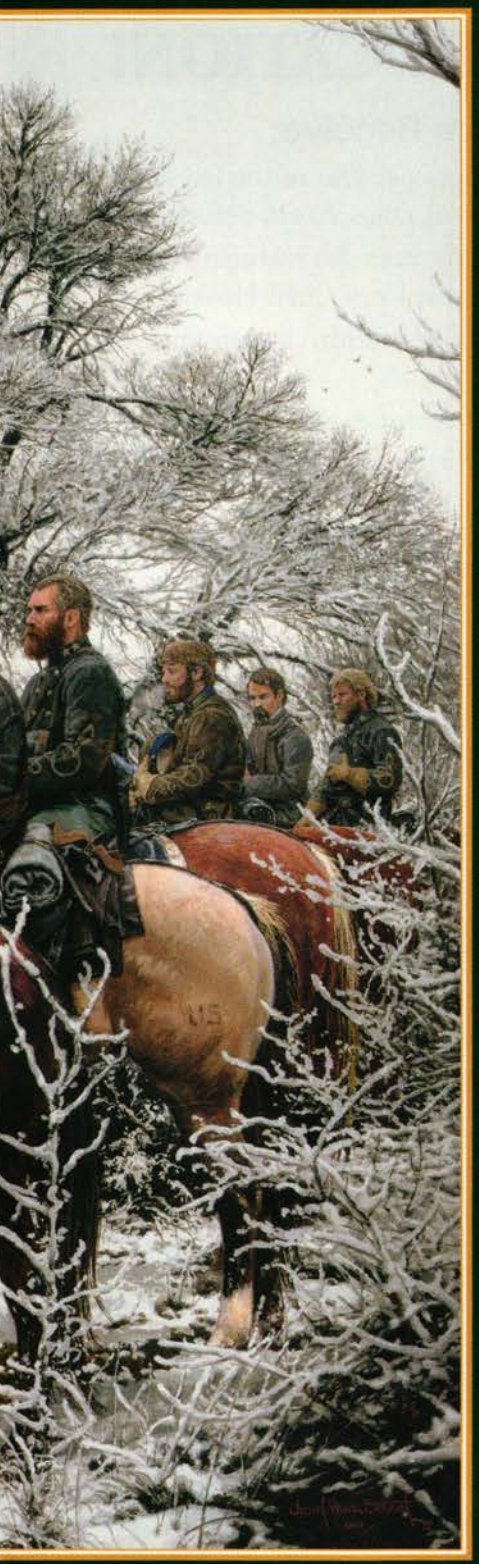

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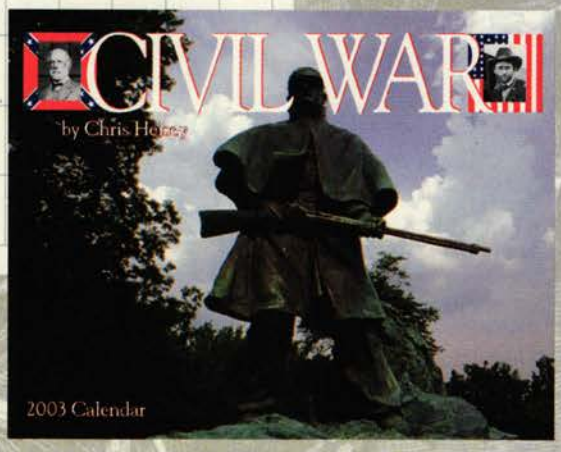

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FROM ALVIN F. HARLOW, "OLD WAYBILLS" (1934)

Reproduction of a wartime express receipt for a package of $15,000 in Confederate funds. ("Knapsack: Special Deliveries," page 8)

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The Lee family crest: "Not Unmindful of the Future" ("Robert E. Lee and the Hand of God," page 12)

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A soldier dreams of home. ("The Girl I Left Behind Me," page 58)

VOLUME 6 • NUMBER 2

NORTH & SOUTH

FEATURES

12 ROBERT E. LEE AND THE HAND OF GOD
Lee's religion colored every aspect of his life—including his approach to the battlefield. —*Richard Rollins*

26 THE BATTLE OF MANSFIELD
At Mansfield the Federals received a bloody nose that thwarted their Red River Campaign. —*Steve Bounds and Curtis Milbourn*

42 MARYLAND, MY MARYLAND!
The state of Maryland remained in the Union, but white sentiment in Charles County was heavily pro-secessionist. —*Edward Steers, Jr.*

58 THE GIRL I LEFT BEHIND ME
Cause and comrades were certainly important motivators for Confederate soldiers, but a more basic instinct was also at work. —*Stephen W. Berry II*

70 GENERAL CARLIN AND THE NIGHTMARE OF BENTONVILLE
Traditional accounts of the Battle of Bentonville rest upon the later rationalizations of a Union general. —*Mark L. Bradley*

84 THE SPOILS OF WAR
For some the war was simply a heaven-sent opportunity to make a killing. —*Mark W. Summers*

DEPARTMENTS

4 Editorial
5 Crossfire
8 Knapsack
25 Do You Know?
52 *North & South* Back Issues
68 Civil War Society
90 Briefings
95 Cover Story
96 Market Place

VOLUME 6 • NUMBER 2 • FEBRUARY 2003

NORTH & SOUTH

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DISTRIBUTION

Curtis Circulation Company
730 River Road, New Milford, NJ 07646-3048

NORTH & SOUTH is published monthly except for January, March, June, August, and November, by NORTH & SOUTH MAGAZINE, INC., 33756 Black Mountain Road, Tollhouse, CA 93667. SUBSCRIPTIONS: US and Canada $39.99 for seven issues (US funds), overseas $49.99 (US funds). Application to Mail at Periodicals Postage Rates is pending at Tollhouse, CA and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: send address changes to NORTH & SOUTH, P.O. Box 1027, Escondido, CA 92033-1027. SUBSCRIPTION QUESTIONS: US & Canada call (800) 546-6707, foreign (559) 855-8637. Unless expressly stated, NORTH & SOUTH neither endorses nor is responsible for the contents of advertisements in its pages. Letters to the editor become the property of NORTH & SOUTH, and may be edited. NORTH & SOUTH accepts no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unaccompanied by return postage. Permission to reproduce the issue or parts thereof must be secured from the publisher.

PRINTED IN THE USA

ISSN 1522-9742
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Editorial

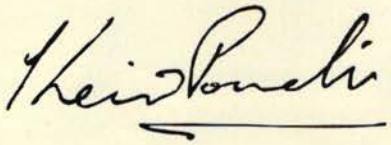
CIVIL WAR SOCIETY

A NUMBER OF READERS of *North & South* have suggested in the last couple of months that they would be interested in setting up local branches of the Civil War Society, thus creating local forums that would enable buffs to come together and exchange ideas and views, arrange programs of speakers, and so forth. In some cases we may do this, but my first thought is that in many areas there already exist such bodies—in the form of Civil War Round Tables. Rather than reinvent the wheel—and create gratuitous competition—I would rather use the resources of the Society and of *North & South* to assist the existing structure. Accordingly we have written to all the Round Tables for which we have contact information, inviting them to become institutional subscribers to *North & South* and to take out small "contact" advertisements in the magazine. We have also offered to provide them—at no extra cost—with all the names and addresses of buffs in their area from our 40,000+ mailing list. It is our hope that this will enable all existing Round Tables to boost their membership significantly.

Which leaves those areas that at present have no Civil War forum. And these are not just rural areas with scattered population: major urban centers such as Birmingham and Memphis have no local group. We would like to change this. So if you live in area that currently lacks such an organization (call us if you are in doubt), and you are interested in playing a part in forming one, please let us hear from you. (If by mail, please include stamped self-addressed envelope.) We'll then put you in touch with other interested parties in your area, and offer some guidance on the formation of a local group. We will also provide a national speakers' list. Our hope is that 2003 will see the launch of many new groups and the strengthening of existing ones.

* * * *

Just before we went to press, news came of President Bush's signing of the Civil War Battlefield Preservation Act (H.R. 5125, 2002). This bipartisan measure will help save thousands of acres of hallowed ground from urban sprawl. It is particularly gratifying to know that our local congressman, George Radanovich (R-California) was one of the moving spirits behind the legislation.



Crossfire

CHALLENGING THE NUMBERS

I very much enjoyed the excellent articles in your recent issue of *North & South* [Antietam special, vol. 5, #7].

I did notice some mistakes regarding the size of Union and Confederate armies and Union and Confederate losses. It was stated that at the Battle of Sharpsburg about 35 to 40,000 Confederates were pitted against about 80,000+ Federal troops.

On September 22, five days after the battle, official Confederate returns for infantry effectives showed 36,418 present for duty; adding to this the number of men in the cavalry and reserve artillery—8,000—would increase the figure to over 44,000; deducting 1,000 men of Colonel Edward L. Thomas' brigade of A.P. Hill's division, absent at Harper's Ferry, would leave over 43,418 effectives present on September 22.

Lee (in a letter) told President Davis that scarcely any stragglers or reinforcements had joined his army by September 21. Adding to the figure 43,418 the probable Confederate casualties at Sharpsburg—13,142—a total of 56,560 is obtained.

The historian Livermore thinks that 51,844 Southern troops were engaged against the Federal army at Sharpsburg, but states that the figure might well be as high as 58,844.

Another Civil War historian, Palfrey, states that the Confederates were probably outnumbered by about 2,000—that would make the Confederate army about 57,000.

Livermore states that about 69,000 Union soldiers were available at Sharpsburg (Antietam) and that McClellan's losses were 2,108 killed, 9,549 wounded, and 753 missing, a total of 12,410. He further states that Lee's losses out of a probable 57,000 engaged were 2,700 killed, 9,024 wounded, and 2,000 missing, a total of 13,724.

The figure of 80,000+ Federal soldiers was based on the morning reports of McClellan's subordinates and showed the total number of men in uniform, noncombatants as well as combatants.

General Lee counted only infantry, artillery, and cavalry. Longstreet stated that a few days before the battle Lee had 61,000. Allowing for stragglers and losses at South Mountain, this would bring the count to about 55,000.

The *Richmond Enquirer* stated about 60,000 Southern soldiers fought at Sharpsburg. Another source, Professor Roper, states that Lee had about 58,000.

All sources seem to indicate that Lee had about 55,000, not counting his noncombatants, and that McClellan had about 70,000, not counting his noncombatants.

Most historians have shown Lee's army to be much smaller than it actually was and McClellan's as being much larger than it actually was. No serious study of this battle can be made until accurate numbers are given on size and strength of the armies that fought in this battle.

—Joseph Denn
Frederic, Wisconsin

Maps from the NORTH & SOUTH Antietam special issue (vol. 5, #7), entitled "South Mountain: Attack of the Pennsylvania Reserves, September 14, 1862" (above right), and "Battle of Antietam, September 17,1862."

TED ALEXANDER (HISTORIAN AT ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD) RESPONDS:

Mr. Denn brings up some very good points regarding numbers and losses at Antietam. The "serious study" on accurate numbers that he suggests has already been undertaken. Indeed, the most complete study of the Maryland Campaign and the Battle of Antietam was conducted by General Ezra Carman. He commanded the 13th New Jersey at Antietam and within weeks of the battle embarked on a research project that continued off and on for more than forty years. He corresponded with veterans from both sides regarding troop movements and numbers and losses.

In 1894 the secretary of war appointed Carman as the official historian of the Antietam National Battlefield Board. His major duties were to produce a series of troop movement maps of the battle, identify troop positions on the field, and write the text for several hundred iron tablets to mark those positions on the field. Although prior to this the battlefield board had collected hundreds of letters from Antietam veterans detailing troop movements, numbers, and losses, Carman continued this task and was often able to compare, contrast, and reconcile conflicting accounts of the battle. Also, it should be noted that accounts show that he was respected by veterans from both sides who admired his impartiality and desire for accuracy.

Carman produced a lengthy manuscript on the battle. Although never published, it is available to researchers at the Library of Congress. Dr. Thomas Clemens of Hagerstown Community College is currently editing this work, and hopes to have it published in the near future.

Chapter 23 of the Carman Manuscript is a detailed examination of the strengths of both armies. Based on his extensive research Carman concludes that the numbers of the Union troops engaged at Antietam was: 46,146 infantry, 5,982 artillery, and 3,828 cavalry—an aggregate of 55,956. For the Confederates, he lists 29,222 infantry, 3,629 artillerymen and 4,500 cavalry, a total of 37,351. Carman concludes this chapter with this qualifier: "There are some who will think these figures of the Confederate strength too high; there are others who will believe them to be far too low; we believe they do not vary five hundred either away from the numbers actually engaged."

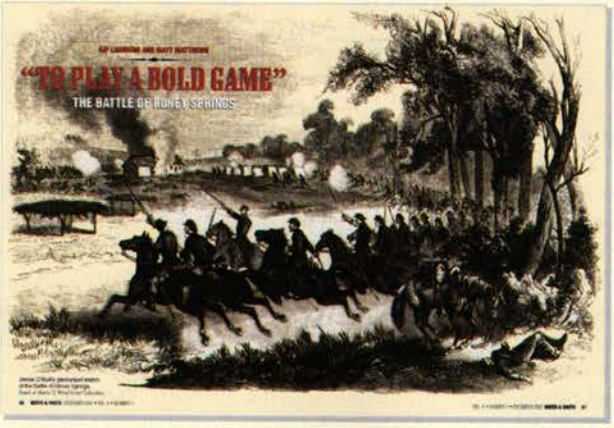
Noncombatant Confederates—teamsters, cooks, bottle washers, etc.—made up no more than ten percent of Lee's men: the Army of Northern Virginia was a lean operating machine. However, we must remember that as many as 4,000 blacks also came along on this campaign to take the place of white soldiers in these duties. Noncombatants in McClellan's army may have numbered as much as twenty percent of the total. Thus, the aggregate of 80,000-plus men becomes plausible. By the way, in Chapter 24 of his manuscript, Carman lists losses at Antietam as 12,401 Union and 10,316 Confederate, a total of 22,717. Some historians believe that Confederate losses were under-

reported—thus the frequently stated figure of "more than 23,000 casualties" at Antietam.

A modern scholar who has joined in the numbers and losses game with great vigor and insight is Dr. Joseph Harsh. His three volume study of Lee's generalship in the summer and fall of 1862 (*Confederate Tide Rising, Taken at the Flood,* and *Sounding the Shallows,* Kent State University Press) is essential reading for anyone seeking to understand the Maryland Campaign. In his research on Confederate numbers and losses, Dr. Harsh has consulted not only Carman, but also estimates given by personalities such as Confederate staff officers Walter Taylor and Moxley Sorrell. I invite Mr. Denn to refer to pages 138-140, 189-192, and 200-202 of *Sounding the Shallows.*

HIGH STANDARDS

Not being a close follower of the Civil War, I happened upon a copy of your magazine [vol. 6, #1] at work. I was particularly impressed with an article that addressed the Battle of Honey Springs. It was a well-written account that was intriguing, captivating, and apparently well-researched. The fact that the article was full of quality pictures, maps, and diagrams added color and interest to the work. The quality of writing found in this magazine distinguishes *North & South* from other popular magazines I have read, and I hope you continue to publish good articles such as these.



In reference to the editorial "Women of the War," I prefer articles that address EVENTS as opposed to articles honing in on a specific gender simply for gender's sake. Keep your standard high and insist, for the sakes of your readers, on continuing to publish quality articles that encompass all aspects and all people of the Civil War.

—Barbara Spencer, Weston, Missouri

WOMEN OF THE WAR

Perhaps this letter should be titled, "Why Civil War Military History Must Be More Than 85% Male."

It does no harm to be reminded by Dr. Edward Wilt that women also played an important part in history. As "Women of the War" (*N&S,* vol. 6, #1) points out, *North & South* has regularly included women as a subject *in* articles, as the subject *of* articles, and as authors. The good doctor is of course looking at the war through his own modern "gender balanced" eyes, thus revealing his own gender bias.

The fact remains that there were no female presidents North or South during the War Between the States, nor senators, nor congressmen, nor generals, nor colonels. There were a handful of female privates and NCOs like Sarah Emma Edmundson masquerading as men. Many women like Clara Barton and Sally Tompkins performed yeoman duty caring for the sick and wounded, but most Civil War nurses, like Walt Whitman, were male. Even in the espionage business, where spies like Rebel Rose, Betty Duvall, Lilly Mackall, Kate Warne, Antonia Ford, Frankie Able, Pauline Cushman, Belle Boyd, and Crazy Bet were both numerous and active, they were still in the minority. On the other hand, all the mothers who lost sons, all the wives and daughters left behind to plough the fields, and most of the hookers that followed the army were female.

To illustrate how much we judge according to the standards of our own time, think back to the anti-Vietnam War era, if you're old enough, when it was argued that the world needed women heads of state. The point was that women, being the gentler sex, would save us from the senseless slaughter of war. Indira Gandhi became India's first woman prime minister in 1966, and led her country to resounding victory in the 1971 India-Pakistan War. In 1969 Golda Meir was elected prime minister of Israel and subsequently lead her country to victory in the 1973 Yom Kippur War against Egypt and Syria. Queen Elizabeth II was crowned in 1952, making her the United Kingdom's head of state. Margaret Thatcher was elected prime minister in 1975, becoming Britain's first woman head of government. Together these two women lead the UK to a decisive victory over Argentina in the 1982 Falkland Island War. Perhaps the lesson here is that if you want to win wars, as opposed to avoiding them, elect women. In any case, we don't hear the old antiwar "women as heads of state" mantra anymore.

—Clark Larsen, Holladay, Utah

* * *

I read with interest your informative editorial in the December 2002 issue ("Women of the War") and believe your magazine does provide balance without bias.

I belong to one of those groups, the Capitol Hill Civil War Round Table, which has a significant number of women as members, and the top leadership positions are filled by women—the president, the treasurer, the membership chairman, and the program chairman. We reach out for a variety of aspects on the Civil War for our programs.

Most recently, we had an excellent program at our November meeting by DeAnne Blanton who, along with Lauren Cook, authored a book entitled *They Fought Like Demons: Women Soldiers in the American Civil War.* The book, based on thorough research, documents as many as 250 women who disguised themselves as men to fight in the Civil War, despite the prohibition in both the Union and Confederate armies against women soldiers.

The authors break new ground in research while highlighting the role of women as soldiers in this major conflict. Some wanted to join husbands in the field while others were motivated by the same level of commitment on the issues that motivated the male soldiers. In fact, we were pleased that the meeting created such interest that C- SPAN books covered it.

The stories of women are out there but they may take a little more work to discover. Keep up your excellent coverage of issues.

—Dr. Donald J. Senese
Publicity Chairman, Capitol Hill
Civil War Round Table

A MEDIOCRE SOLDIER

N&S is still the best, but there were some mistakes in the brief "Knapsack" biography of Gideon Pillow [vol. 6, #1].

First, Pillow was never actually Polk's law partner, despite being his close friend and advisor. Second, he was not totally without military experience before becoming general of volunteers in Mexico—he had been adjutant general of the Tennessee state militia since 1833. (A desk job, admittedly.)

More important for *N&S,* Pillow *did* command troops after the fiasco of Fort Donelson. He was given temporary command of a Tennessee brigade on the last day of Stones River/Murfreesboro, and in June 1864 he led a small command against Sherman's line of communications at Lafayette, Georgia. Though unsuccessful, this small affair was combat in the field.

Gideon Pillow was, at best, a mediocre soldier, but even he deserves an accurate biographical sketch in a journal as careful as *North & South* normally is. (For more on this complex man and his substantial rear-echelon contributions to the CSA, see Nat Hughes and Roy Stonecipher's *The Life and Wars of Gideon J. Pillow,* 1993.)

—Ed Frank, via email

KUDOS

Given the vagaries of the holiday post I've really no idea as to when you'll receive this. I wanted to let you know how much I admire and enjoy *North & South,* which I buy off the shelf from Borders in York. Bookstores stocking material on the Civil War are few and far between in the UK and your magazine keeps me abreast of what's *(continues on page 93)*

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York Town Auction is proud to offer the contents of the Antietam Battlefield Civil War Museum form the late John Ray of Sharpsburg, Md. The museum was opened in the early 1950's by Grafton Smith, with many pieces taken off the battlefield days after the Battle of Antietam. In 1963 John and Rositta Ray purchased the museum intact, with its CW accoutrements, firearms, and ephemera. We have now been commissioned to sell the museum contents in its entirety. Accompanying are an early collection of firearms and of photography.

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PHOTOGRAPHICA: CW era field camera dated 1864; CW era posing stand; **200+ images - mostly CW era incl.** auto. CDV of John Burns; many soldier CDV's (some identified incl. officers & surgeon and incl. Union & Confederate); hand tinted Zouave photo; tintypes incl. Sheridan; brooch w/image of McClellan; Lincoln photo badge; Lincoln embossed photo card; tintype & commission of Joseph Calvert (conf. officer); CW stereoviews of Anthony "War Views" incl. views of dead soldiers, Gen. Sherman & staff, Ft. Putnam, Picket Post, etc., J Davis arrival on his trial, other VA scenes, etc.; other stereoviews incl. Amer. Indian & the West, paddle wheel The Great Eastern, views of Beatrice Neb., Japanese Embassy Members-1862, hunters, etc.; other CDV's incl. rare portait of 2 photographers, other photographers adv., family of slave children, traveling salesman, etc.; cabinet cards of Amer. Indians, Buffalo Bill, Jumbo, physician w/skull, others.

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Albert A. Nofi

Knapsack A CIVIL WAR DIGEST

FROM THE GRAPEVINE

- During October 1862 over forty people—including one woman—were lynched at Gainesville, Texas, on suspicion of being Union sympathizers.
- As a junior officer, Winfield Scott's military career was almost terminated when he was court-martialed for making a rude remark about his commanding officer, the pusillanimous Brigadier General James Wilkinson (who never won a battle nor lost a court-martial), with the result that the young officer was suspended from active duty for a year, 1809-1810.
- Of over 3,000 chaplains in the Union army, hardly one hundred and fifty were Roman Catholic, at a time when Catholics comprised easily ten percent of the men in the ranks.
- On April 12, 1861, when Pierre G.T. Beauregard's batteries open fire on Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, the Confederacy—South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas—already had some 45,000 men under arms, about three times as many as the United States Army.
- Riding single file a brigade of 2,400 cavalry required about one and a half miles of road space.
- As testimony to its importance as a transshipment point for goods bound for the Confederacy, the Mexican port of Matamoros, on the Rio Grande, grew from about 8,000 inhabitants in 1860 to about 50,000 by the end of the Civil War.
- Not until 1863 did Congress authorize the appointment of veterinary surgeons to cavalry regiments, and they held only assimilated rank as sergeants major.

We make every effort to check the accuracy of anecdotes published in "Knapsack," but many were written down years after the event and in some cases are undoubtedly folk tales rather than genuine reminiscences.

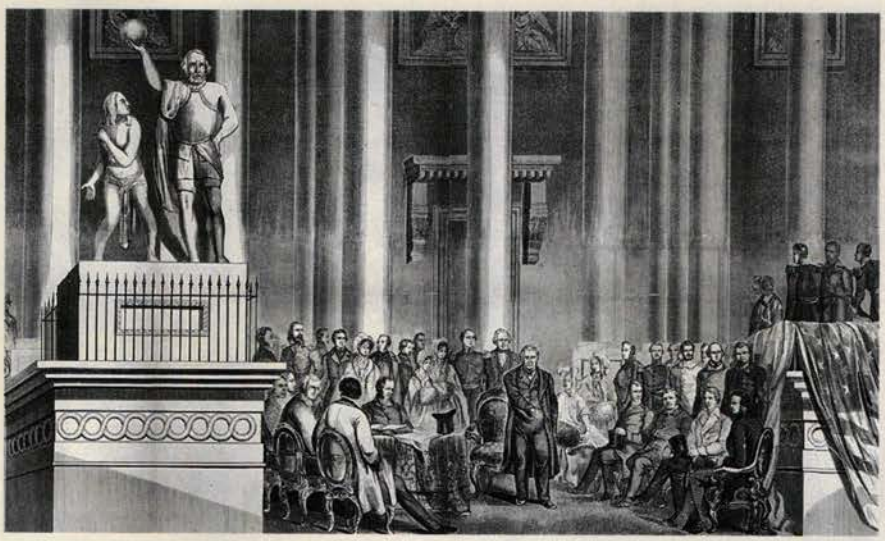
SHORT ROUNDS

Union Naval Ranks

On the eve of the Civil War the United States Navy managed with only a handful of officer ranks. The highest permanent officers were captains, below whom were commanders, a relatively new rank, lieutenants commanding, and lieutenants. In a formal sense that was it. To be sure there were also midshipmen. "Middies" were sort-of officers-in-training. Customarily young—fifteen years old not being uncommon, and ten years old not unheard of—they served aboard ship under instruction from the captain and other authorized personnel (like the chaplains or an occasional professor of mathematics), in which capacity, although essentially untrained, they often exercised a great deal of authority. There was also the honorary rank of "commodore," usually conferred on a senior captain when he commanded a squadron. In 1857 the status of some commodores was more or less regularized by the institution of the rank of "flag officer," mostly as a means of insuring that senior American naval officers had pecking rights more or less on a par with those of their foreign compeers; the use of "commodore" continued, however, as a courtesy title for a captain commanding a squadron. Needless to say, with so short a "promotion ladder," it was not unusual for a man to spend decades "in grade."

Zachary Taylor's Uniform

One can make a case that during the Civil War there were essentially two schools of thought as to how a general should dress. One might be called the "Fuss and Feathers School," after Winfield Scott, who was always splendidly uniformed, a practice that earned him the nickname "Old Fuss and Feathers." Notable adherents of this school of sartorial splendor included such Civil War commanders as Robert E. Lee and George B. McClellan. In contrast there was also the "Rough and Ready School," named after Zachary Taylor, who had earned the nickname "Old Rough and Ready" because of his casualness with regard to dress. Taylor, whose success in the field against Mexico in 1846-1848 led him to the White House in 1849, was never much of a dresser. Soldiers described him as wearing variously "an old oil cloth cap, a dusty green coat, a frightful pair of trousers" and "a loose, unbuttoned blue coat, a check shirt and black tie, broad brimmed planter's black felt hat with a low crown, boots that slipped down about his calves, and trousers that were never quite stuffed in." Notable Civil War members of the "Rough and Ready School" include U.S. Grant and, despite the splendidly uniformed statue to his memory at Bull Run, Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson.



Zachary Taylor's success in the field against Mexico in 1846-1848 led him to the White House. The engraving above (c.1849) entitled "The Inauguration of Gen. Zachary Taylor" was drawn by William Croome during the event. *Library of Congress*

"I consider it an honor to die for my country."

—Paul Jones Semmes

Shortly after the creation of the Naval Academy in 1845, a new term entered use, "passed midshipman." This was used for a young man who had completed the prescribed course at the academy, and graduated to the fleet, but for whom there was no slot available for promotion to lieutenant. After acquiring some experience, passed midshipmen were sometimes designated as "master," authorized to command ships, a title also sometimes used for a merchant marine officer brought into the naval service.

Then came the Civil War. In the course of the war the modern naval command system evolved.

- **Vice Admiral.** Established December 21, 1864, and first conferred on David G. Farragut
- **Rear Admiral.** Established July 16, 1862, and conferred on David G. Farragut.
- **Commodore.** Established January 16, 1862, replacing the earlier "flag officer," that had itself replaced the informal use of "commodore" in 1857.
- **Captain.**
- **Commander.**
- **Lieutenant Commander.** Established June 16, 1862, replacing "lieutenant commanding."
- **Lieutenant**
- **Master**
- **Ensign.** Formally instituted on July 16, 1862, in place of "Passed Midshipman"
- **Midshipman.** Not technically an officer grade, but imbued with some authority when assigned to active duty.

After the war changes in the rank structure continued. The rank of admiral was created, again for Farragut, in 1866, while master was transformed into "lieutenant, junior grade" in 1883. "Passed midshipman" even returned to duty for a time, to designate Annapolis graduates for whom there was no room available on the list of ensigns. In 1899 "commodore" became "rear admiral (lower half)," though continuing in use as a courtesy title for captains commanding squadrons, and was still also occasionally awarded to senior captains upon retention on duty after normal retirement age into the 1940s. Of course, as one member of Congress observed, if commodore "was good enough for John Paul Jones, Farragut, and Peary, it is good enough for a bunch of people that I never heard of!"

"Which Wallace?"

During the Henry-Donelson Campaign (February 1862) there were two officers named "Wallace" in Brigadier General U.S. Grant's army, a matter which seems to have occasioned some confusion in communications at times. On the one hand there was Colonel William Harvey Lamb Wallace (usually referred to as "W.H.L. Wallace"), who later died of wounds incurred at Shiloh; on the other there was Colonel Lewis "Lew" Wallace, who would later attain fame as the author of *Ben Hur*. Further complicating matters was the fact that until recently the men had commanded similarly named regiments, W.H.L. the 11th Illinois and Lew the 11th Indiana. It also caused both men some mirth at a hot moment during the Confederate breakout attempt at Donelson on February 15, by which time Lew Wallace was commanding a division, and W.H.L. commanded a brigade, in a different division.

It seems that the Confederate onslaught soon found W.H.L. Wallace's brigade in a tight spot, so that his troops were forced to attempt a change of front while low on ammunition. Things were getting really difficult, and the 11th Illinois was actually fighting hand-to-hand.

Learning that Lew Wallace's division was in reserve nearby, W. H. L. sent a message asking his namesake to come up. Lew Wallace immediately assented, and quickly began moving his troops. As they moved toward the front, he spotted a mounted officer with some soldiers a little distance off. Concluding that this officer was W.H.L. Wallace, Lew rode up to him.

What happened next was recounted by Lew Wallace in his autobiography.

"Good morning." I said, "May I ask who you are?"

"My name is Wallace," he replied, stopping.

"Oh, you are Colonel W.H.L. Wallace. Well my name is Wallace."

"Lew Wallace, of the Eleventh Indiana?"

"The same."

We shook hands, he saying: "Our names, and the numbers of our regiments—mine is the Eleventh Illinois—have been the cause of great profanity in the post-office."

"Mixture of letters, I suppose?"

"Yes."

Pleasantries exchanged, the two men got back to the business at hand, Lew providing W.H.L. with ammunition and helping him reform the line, together contributing greatly to the defeat of the Rebel breakout attempt, and helping to secure final surrender of the Confederate forces the following day.

Apparently it was the only time the two men ever met.

Apparently there were only two occasions on which Taylor actually wore his full general officer's rig. The first was at a formal review of his army staged in order to resolve an acrimonious dispute over rank that had erupted between two subordinate brigadier generals, William J. Worth and David Twiggs, the second of whom later became the only U.S. general of the line to join the Confederacy. On this occasion Taylor used the uniform to stress the fact that ***he*** was in charge. The second occasion on which Taylor wore his full rig as a major general was during a visit to his headquarters by the commanding officer of the U.S. squadron operating off the mouth of the Rio Grande, Commodore David Conner.

Aware that naval officers were punctilious in matters ceremonial, Taylor decided to go all out so that the navy would not outshine the army. His uniform was searched out and made ready, and on the appointed day the general donned full kit, sword, feathers, epaulettes, aiguillettes, gloves, and whatnot. And when the naval gentleman arrived it turned out that, knowing of Taylor's reputation as a careless dresser, Conner had put aside his personal preferences and worn civies, as a compliment to his host. □

NOTE: Readers are encouraged to submit suggestions for a future listing of the various Civil War generals according to their affiliation with the "Fuss & Feathers" or "Rough & Ready" school of military fashion to anofi@aol.com.

"Who, Me?"

One day during the war a certain Judge Baldwin, a highly respected elderly gentleman from California, called upon Major General Henry Halleck in Washington. The judge asked the then general-in-chief, with whom he was acquainted from the days when the latter had been active in California politics, for permission to pass through the Union lines in Virginia in order to visit his brother, who resided behind Confederate lines. Since both the judge and his brother were noted Union men, Baldwin thought there would be no difficulty in securing a pass, and so was quite surprised when Halleck said: "We have been deceived too often, and I regret that I cannot grant it."

Determined to get his pass, Judge Baldwin decided to go over Halleck's head, and appealed to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. However, he discovered that Stanton was even harder to deal with than Halleck had been, for he was turned down with a minimum of ceremony. This so annoyed the good judge that he decided there was nothing left but to go over Stanton's head, to the president himself. In short order Baldwin secured an interview with Lincoln.

Admitted to the presidential presence, the judge briefly stated his case.

"Have you," asked the president, "applied to General Halleck?"

"I have," replied the judge, "and met with a flat refusal."

"Then," said the president, "you must see Stanton."

"I have, and with the same result," replied the Judge.

BATTLES AND LEADERS OF THE CIVIL WAR

Rear Admiral Charles Wilkes

"Well, then," said the president, smiling, "I can do nothing, for you must know that I have very little influence with this administration."

BIOFILE

Charles D. Wilkes

A brilliant navigator, astronomer, and technician, Charles D. Wilkes' work surveying islands in the Pacific Ocean was immensely important in his lifetime, and a century later proved even more valuable to Americans fighting the Japanese during World War II. But his prickly personality and disregard for authority nearly led to war between Britain and the United States.

The son of a merchant, Wilkes was born in New York City in 1798. He entered the navy as a midshipman in 1818, rather old for the times. Made a lieutenant in 1838—the navy only had three ranks in those days (midshipman, lieutenant, and captain), so promotion was slow—Wilkes was given command of the United States Exploration Expedition, a major scientific survey in the Pacific Ocean.

For nearly four years Wilkes performed his mission superbly, not returning until 1842. During this protracted voyage, which included rounding stormy Cape Horn, he lost not a man nor a ship, while he prepared charts, surveyed islands, and made important scientific studies. Wilkes also engaged in numerous exchanges with many of the island peoples, not all of which turned out peacefully. This work was crucial for the merchant mariners of the day. But more importantly, Wilkes' surveys were in many cases the first—and only—ones ever made of many of the islands and seas in the South Pacific. As a result, during World War II it was not unusual to see charts marked "U.S. Ex. Ex." being used by American soldiers, sailors, and marines fighting the Japanese.

Wilkes saw active service in the war with Mexico. On the outbreak of war in the spring of 1861 he was captain of the steam sloop *San Jacinto,* on antislavery patrol off the African coast. Ordered home, the ship was soon pursing Confederate commerce raiders.

Late in October 1861, while at Havana, Wilkes learned that two Confederate officials, James M. Mason and John Slidell, were aboard the British mail steamer *Trent* bound for England, to press the Confederacy's cause in Europe. Acting without orders, Wilkes intercepted *Trent* in the Bahama Channel. Forcing her to heave to with a pair of shots across her bow, he removed the men and brought them to the U.S. The result was the "Trent Affair," a major diplomatic crisis with Britain. Although acclaimed as a hero in the North, Wilkes' action very nearly led to war between Britain and the U.S. The matter was settled by some creative diplomacy in which the U.S. publicly denied that it had done anything illegal, but released Mason and Slidell, while both sides exchanged polite comments.

In early 1862 Wilkes commanded gunboats on the James River supporting George B. McClellan's Peninsular Campaign. Promoted to commodore, Wilkes performed this mission well. In September 1862 the navy gave him command of a squadron that patrolled the West Indies and Bahamas to further the blockade of the South. Wilkes intercepted many blockade runners but caused more strain with Britain. He also interfered in the movements of American warships not under his command, thereby frustrating the navy's efforts to cope with Confederate commerce raiders. Then, in mid-1863, Wilkes seized the British merchant ship *Peterhoff,* bound for Mexico with what he claimed was a Confederate cargo, a conclusion with which a navy prize court did not concur. Relieved of his command in May 1864, Wilkes was court-martialed, reprimanded, and placed on the retired list.

Wilkes was promoted to rear admiral on the retired list in 1866. Until his death in 1877 he fought an unsuccessful battle to clear his name.

Since Wilkes' death, the navy has given his name to four ships. The most distinguished was the destroyer USS *Wilkes,* launched in 1940, which earned ten battle stars in the Pacific during World War II. His name is currently—and appropriately—borne by an oceanographic survey ship.

During World War II, Wilkes' great-grandson, John Wilkes, served as commander of American submarines in the Far East as part of Admiral Thomas Hart's Asiatic Fleet during the difficult opening months of World War II. The younger Wilkes later commanded the cruiser *Birmingham* in the Mediterranean and, in 1944, having risen to rear admiral, played

an important role in organizing and training the naval forces for the Normandy invasion.

POETIC LICENSE

"Aura Lea"

Occasionally known as "When the Blackbird in the Spring," "Aura Lea" was a minstrel show song. The words were by W.W. Fosdick, an attorney with a taste for letters; his *Arie, and Other Poems* was issued in New York in 1855 by Dunce & Brother, a now long-extinct publishing house. The music was by George R. Poulton, who also wrote the tune to which West Point's "Army Blue" is set. "Aura Lea" was introduced by Hooley's & Campbell's Minstrels, a group of blackface singers organized in 1860 through the merger of two older ensembles, which for a time competed in popularity with the famed Christy Minstrels.

During the Civil War the sentimental "Aura Lea" was popular with Union troops, and, from occasional references in letters and diaries, including some by civilians, apparently only a little less so with the other side indeed, there are stories that when camped near each other troops from one side would occasionally join in the singing begun by their once and future foemen, joining together for a moment in the loneliness of war that transcended sectional lines.

As with many nineteenth century songs, there are a number of variants available, not to mention an occasional twentieth century rendition with newly interpolated lyrics designed to establish copyright. In the mid-1950s, Elvis Presely used the tune for his platinum hit "Love Me Tender."

Aura Lea

When the blackbird in the spring, on the willow tree,
Sat and rocked, I heard him sing, singing Aura Lea
Aura Lea, Aura Lea, maid of golden hair;
Sunshine came along with thee, and swallows in the air.

Chorus

Aura Lea, Aura Lea, maid of golden hair;
Sunshine came along with thee, and swallows in the air.

In thy blush the rose was born, music when you spake,
Through thine azure eye the morn, sparkling seemed to break.
Aura Lea, Aura Lea, bird of crimson wing,
Never song have sung to me, as in that sweet spring.

(Chorus)

Aura Lea! The bird may flee, the willow's golden hair
Swing through winter fitfully, on the stormy air.
Yet if thy blue eyes I see, gloom will soon depart;
For to me, sweet Aura Lea is sunshine through the heart.

(Chorus)

When the mistletoe was green, midst the winter's snows,
Sunshine in thy face was seen, kissing lips of rose.
Aura Lea, Aura Lea, take my golden ring;
Love and light return with thee, and swallows with the spring.

SPECIAL DELIVERIES

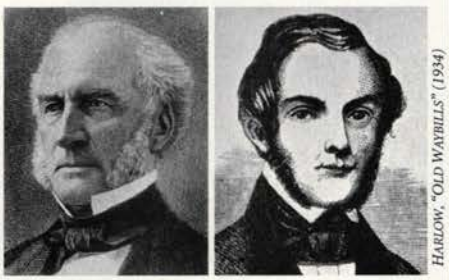
American Express & the Civil War

Contributed by James M. Schmidt

HAVE YOU EVER WONDERED where the "Express" in American Express comes from? Today's multi-billion dollar financial and travel services company began as one of several firms specializing in the business of forwarding freight and valuables. American Express, along with the other principal express companies of the day, played an important role in the War Between the States by shipping supplies for the armies, delivering packages and money to and from the home front, and even by helping reelect Abraham Lincoln. Though the mission of American Express has changed over the years, the name has not, and the company points with pride to its Civil War heritage.

The express industry traces its roots to the 1830s. Pioneering entrepreneurs, chief among them William F. Harnden and Alvin Adams, then capitalized on the public's need for the safe, swift, and economical transportation of securities, documents, and money among the big cities in the east, and between the coasts. Postage rates were expensive and the practice of entrusting valuables to acquaintances, or even strangers, who happened to be going the same way by stage or rail often proved risky. Harnden, the "Father of Express," and a onetime train conductor and ticket agent, had quit his job and began advertising daily trips from Boston to New York as a messenger and carrier. Before long, he had more clients than he could handle alone. His own business expanded, and as the advantages of the express industry became widely recognized, other businessmen started their own firms.

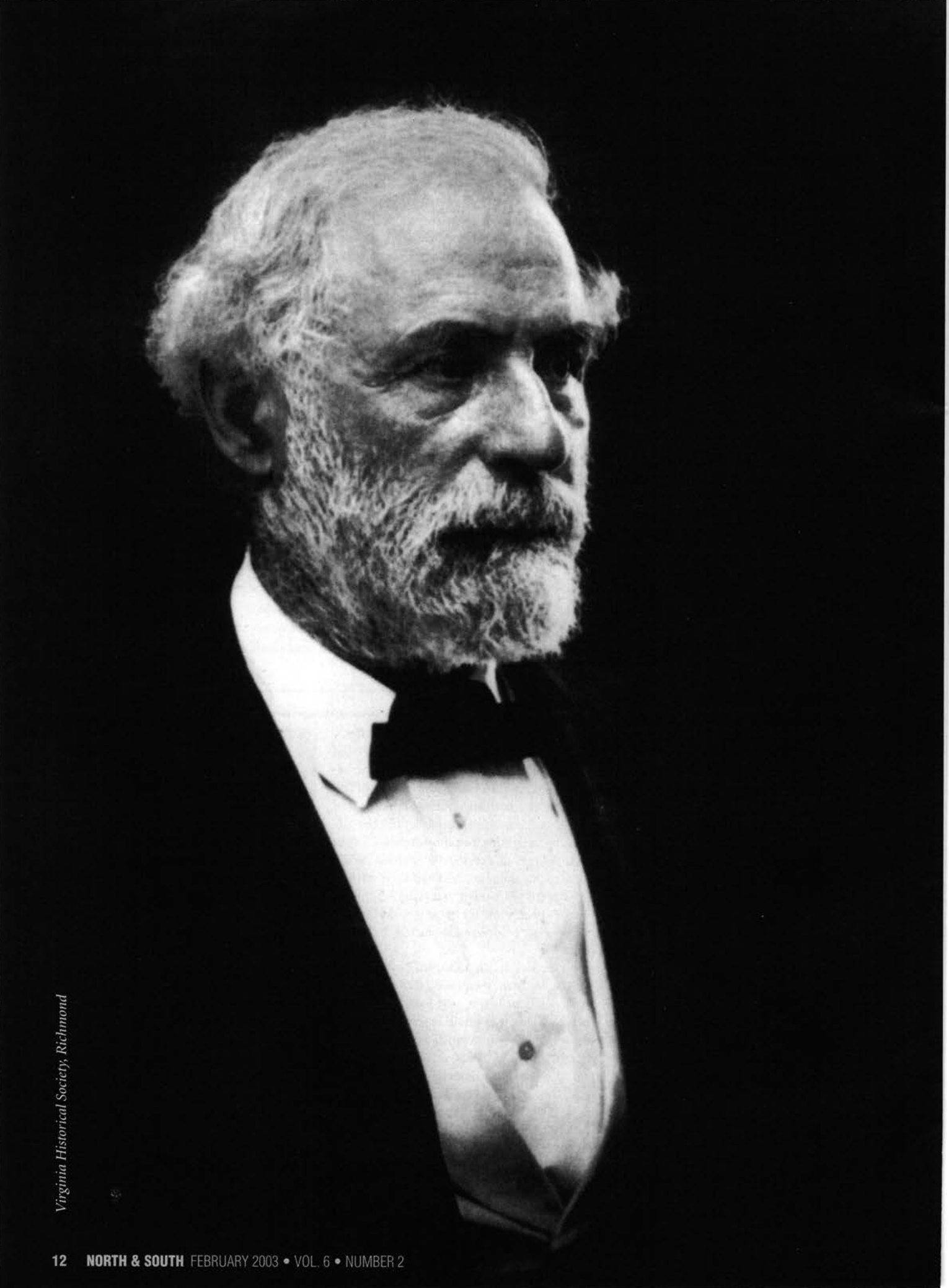
On March 18, 1850, in Buffalo, New York, seven men, the principals being Henry Wells, William Fargo, and John Butterfield, merged their own small, but successful, express businesses to form the "American Express Company." Wells, a former agent for Harnden, was proprietor of "Wells and Co.," which operated between Buffalo and Detroit. Fargo began as a messenger for Wells, then a partner, then owner of "Livingston and Fargo," which operated at points farther west than Wells. Butterfield, once a simple stage driver, was owner of several stage lines, a promoter of railroads and the telegraph, and owner of the "Butterfield and Wasson" express. By capitalizing on advances in transportation, the mass emigration west, and a commitment to its customers, American Express became an extremely successful enterprise.



HARLOW, "OLD WAYBILLS" (1934)

Alvin Adams William F. Harnden

Even before secession, American Express had become involved in the coming national struggle, and signaled their allegiance to the Union by aiding beleaguered abolitionists in "Bloody Kansas." In the minutes of a February 12, 1861, board meeting, Secretary William Fargo noted the receipt of a congratulatory letter from the "New York relief committee," which had met just days earlier. There, the letter stated, the committee had unanimously agreed to a resolution that "the thanks of the public are due to the American Express [company] for their *(continues on page 95)*



Virginia Historical Society, Richmond

ROBERT E. LEE AND THE HAND OF GOD

RICHARD ROLLINS

"I think and work with all my powers to bring my troops to the right place at the right time," Robert E. Lee once replied to a question about his generalship. When he had done all he could do, he would "leave the matter up to God and the subordinate officers."[1]

IN THE COMMENTS ABOVE CAN BE READ, expressed in Lee's typically cryptic manner, all the aspects of his approach to planning a maneuver or engagement. The first is a reflection of Lee the soldier, his educational background and understanding of the military science of his day, as well as his experience in Mexico and the first year of his command of the Army of Northern Virginia (ANV). His way of developing information and organizing his strategy and tactics is there too, as is his Grand Strategy. The second comment encompasses a powerful and highly significant aspect of his understanding of the world and his role in it, one that few historians concerned with his command of the ANV have felt compelled to examine: Lee's religious faith and its role in his military life.

For most Civil War historians, religion seems to have played almost no part in the war.[2] Some have studied the divisions in Protestant denominations in the 1850s, when schisms occurred over slavery. The lives and work of the clergy before and during the war have been chronicled. Military historians have portrayed faith as a curious aspect of quirky individuals like Stonewall Jackson and Oliver Otis Howard. The evangelical revival that occurred in the armies has attracted little attention, and only recently has a historian usually associated with the military side of the war tried to understand what role religion played in the lives of the common soldiers. It is as if we assume that religion has no role in campaigns and battles.

Lee has been typically portrayed as the great general, with little or no reference to his faith. The army commander on his horse, or the military strategist making plans for his invasion of Maryland or Pennsylvania, seem unrelated to the devout Christian. Douglas Southall Freeman, in his four volume study *R.E. Lee*, as well as in his three volume *Lee's Lieutenants*, treated religion as an aspect of the private lives of Lee and his subordinates, with little significance in terms of their military actions.[3] The most recent biography, by Emory Thomas, leaves the impression that religion played virtually no role in Lee's life. It is mentioned a scant half-dozen times, and never in a discussion of his military career.[4] A recent survey of two hundred books and articles on Lee's military career included only one that dealt with his religion, and that was published in 1897.[5]

In fact the war took place within a thoroughly Christian culture. Protestantism shaped virtually all aspects of society and for many provided the primary means of understanding the larger meaning of events as well as explaning how and why things happened. Students of American religion have long understood this. One pointed out that Lee's faith was the dominant element in his intellectual life and that he was, in all phases of life, essentially "the friend of God" above all else.[6] Another described the ANV as the most religious fighting unit that ever existed, surpassing even the spiritual intensity of Oliver Cromwell's Roundheads, and noted that Confederate armies were estimated to have fostered the conversion of at least 150,000 men by the end of the war.[7] But the works of historians of religion are virtually unknown among military historians of the war.

Our belief in modern science and its methodology is so overwhelming that the Civil War generation's reliance on faith to explain all things can seem naive. The scientific and secular mind of the 21st century rejects deeply religious views of secular events. We live in what is essentially a non-God-centered age and many are prone to regard religion as a mask for political and economic drives, racism, or simple self-aggrandizement. While most modern Americans still profess belief in the existence of a higher power, our understanding of the ways of the world are far different than that of Lee and his generation. We have accommodated our belief to accept empirical knowledge of how the world works. More people go to church than in the 1860s, but the God they worship is less powerful. His hand no longer shapes human events. I know of no serious modern historian who would explain the outcome of a military or political event as something ordained by God.

It is often difficult for us to understand how differently people living in another time thought. We recognize the technological advances that have occurred since 1865, but not the intellectual changes beneath or behind them. An understanding of the power of religious belief in the lives of mid-nineteenth-century Americans must start with us rather than with them. In order to comprehend their thoughts and consequent actions we

must suspend our own disbelief of their faith and recognize its power, legitimacy, and centrality in their lives and decisions.[8] We do not have to accept their comprehension of the world as an accurate description of reality, but we must acknowledge the sincerity of their beliefs and acknowledge that they acted upon them.

Lee and his army existed in an intellectual and cultural world far different from our own. In the 1860s the world still contained mysteries that made sense only if one believed in an omnipotent God. Medicine was extremely primitive by modern standards and time had not been standardized. The technology that we take for granted—airplanes, telephones, computers, automobiles, atomic power, and so on—existed only in the dreams of a few in a world dominated by physical labor and transportation by horse. Scriptural language, the basic grammar and vocabulary for thought and expression among many Americans, suffused everything. Religious themes laced the private correspondence and public admonitions of both northerners and southerners during the war. Preachers thundered invocations for people to do their duty to God and government. The war occurred long before the scientific method came to dominate all aspects of human thought, before the impact and assimilation of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*, or the attempt to study social evolution through science. Karl Marx had not yet described religion as the opiate of the masses. The idea that organized religion often was used to justify an existing order of exploitation and that there was no place for God in politics and society had not yet gained widespread acceptance. We must remember that a common assumption of our day that science, not God, is the source of many answers to our questions was essentially foreign to Civil War soldiers.

This article will outline the relevant aspects of Lee's faith and attempt to explain their role in shaping his command of the army. Lee was not an intellectual seeking Truth, nor was he a religious scholar. He was a human being who expressed an interest in the world, how it worked, and his role in it. In fact Lee's religious beliefs provided the lens through which he viewed everything, including the origins of the war, the Confederacy and its goals, how the war should be conducted, his attitude toward his army, his leadership style, his attitude toward death, and ultimately his strategy and tactics. His faith exhibited an internally consistent logic that can be traced throughout his understanding of the world, his personal and family life, and his work as commander of the ANV. Let this also be clear: this article is not a celebration of Lee as a Christian Warrior or in any way a symbol of anything, and has in no way been influenced by the Lee Cult, neo-Confederates or any other consideration. It is an analysis of his thought process and how it affected his generalship.

A SIMPLE FAITH

Lee had many roles in life: student, husband, father, engineer, and military commander. From his learning and understanding of religion he took his identity, above and beyond all else, as a sinner and a supplicant of God. Christianity gave his life a structure, and his participation in organized religion gave him a sense of belonging to a community with a shared set of beliefs and values. The Lord was a palpable presence in his world, a power whose wonders could be seen all around him. His religion shaped his understanding of all events, personal and public, major and minor, social, cultural and military. It is important to remember that Lee's beliefs were not unusual, and were in fact fairly conventional for his time. Soldiers and civilians, North and South, shared his outlook. He was not a mystic, seeking oneness with God. He did not hear voices, nor see visions. He did not ask God for divine guidance in specific tactical situations.

General Lee could not remember a time when he was not a devout Christian. He was raised by a mother who taught him to recite the catechism before he could read. His correspondence from Mexico was laced with religious content, and he apparently had a conversion experience in 1847. His religious beliefs as an adult can be understood as a combination of "low-church" Episcopalianism and evangelical Protestantism. While he attended church regularly he was not interested in doctrinal questions, typically avoiding such discussions, and was concerned primarily with his relationship with God. By the time we see him astride

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Traveller he had been a devout Christian for nearly half a century. He had internalized a Christian world-view, its ethical and moral teaching. By 1861 his faith was so ingrained that it operated on the level of instinct and impulse rather than conscious thought. It was second nature to him.

The major tenets of Lee's faith that shaped his work as commander of the ANV were quite simple. He believed in an omnipotent God who directed human events with a firm hand. The Lord was loving and kind, and the results of His work would always prove best for mankind. Human beings would often be unable to comprehend how He worked, and must accept what occurred as God's Will. Lee once summed up his beliefs in a letter to his wife Mary. "We are all in the hands of a kind God, who will do for us what is best," he said, "and more than we deserve, and we have only to endeavor to deserve more, and to do our duty to Him ourselves."[9] Lee's belief that all men were marked by Original Sin, and that he was no exception, was deeply held and sincere. "Man's nature is so Selfish, so weak," he said. "Every feeling, every passion urging him to folly, excess & sin that I am disgusted with myself & sometimes with all the world."[10]

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY, LEXINGTON, VA

Above: William E. West's 1838 painting of Robert E. Lee's wife, Mary Custis Lee, who was the great-granddaughter of Martha Washington.
Opposite: Reverend John Johns, bishop of the Diocese of Virginia, confirmed the forty-six-year-old Lee in the Episcopal Church on July 17, 1853.

While Lee did read on other topics, including military history and science, when he had spare time he often read his *Holy Bible*, the Episcopal *Book of Common Prayer*, and the *Church Hymnal*. The fact that biblical teachings were inspired by the Holy Spirit was not debatable with him. Neither was the prayer book's injunction that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary for salvation."[11] From these he copied passages on small pieces of paper and read them while travelling and in the evening. He made the Bible his textbook for daily living; it was the principal source of his beliefs on all subjects. In a letter to a relative he wrote there was enough in it "to satisfy the most ardent thirst for knowledge; to open the way to true wisdom; and to teach the only road to salvation and eternal happiness."[12] When a group of English ladies sent him a copy of the Bible as a gift he called it "a book in comparison with which all others in my eyes are of minor importance; and which in my perplexities and distresses has never failed to give me light and strength."[13] While there might be things in the "old Book" that Lee could not explain, he believed that the Bible was "the infallible Word of God," and that one must "receive its teachings as inspired by the Holy Spirit."[14]

Lee's understanding of how the world worked can be seen in his closest personal relationships. At the beginning of the war he wrote a letter to one of his daughters in which he summed up the relationships between himself, God, the war, his family and their welfare. Arlington had been taken over by Federal troops and the family dispersed, and Lee said that the hardest calamity to bear in war was the separation of families and friends, "yet all must be endured to accomplish our independence and maintain our self-government...." He believed that the separation was at least partially punishment for his own sinfulness: "You see what a poor sinner I am, and how unworthy to possess what was given me; for that reason it has been taken away."[15]

Lee's response to the deaths of his daughter, grand-daughter, and daughter-in-law reveal how his faith shaped his understanding of events. His favorite child, daughter Annie, died in October 1862 and Lee went into a prolonged mourning. He told Mary that he could not adequately express his anguish. To know that he would never see her again on earth was "agonizing in the extreme." But God, as usual, had "mingled mercy with the blow" and she could join him in saying "His will be done...."[16] Lee told Mary that he knew that the Lord gave and took away, but in the quiet hours of the night when there was nothing to relieve him of his grief, "I feel as if I should be overwhelmed." He had always expected that when the war was over he would have Annie with him, but "I must be resigned."[17]

He was not over the shock of Annie's passing when his granddaughter died a few weeks later. His personal and professional lives merged in one passage concerning God's ways of working. He believed that death was better than life:

> I have grieved over the death of that little child of so many hopes & so much affection, & in whose life so much of the future was concerned. But God's Will be done. It is a bright angel in Heaven, free from the pains & sorrows of this world. I feel much for the father & mother but hope they will bear their great loss as Christians. God has been so merciful to us in so many ways, that I cannot repine at whatever he does. His discomfiture of our numerous foes & obliging them to recross the river was a signal interference in our behalf for which I feel I cannot be sufficiently grateful. I had supposed they were just preparing for battle, & was saving our men for the conflict.[18]

Lee's response to his daughter-in-law Charlotte's death in December 1862 again displayed the connections between God, his family, and the cause of Confederate independence. He told his son that he mourned her loss and that his heart was too full to speak or write. His grief was for the living, not for her. "She is brighter and happier than ever—safe from all evil and awaiting us in her heavenly abode." He could not indulge in grief for "our country demands all our strength, all our energies. To resist the powerful combination now forming against us will require every man at his place. If victorious, we have everything to hope for in the future. If defeated, nothing will be left for us to live for .... My whole trust is in God, and I am ready for whatever He may ordain."[19]

WAR AS SIN

Religion shaped every aspect of Lee's understanding of the war. For him the true cause of the war lay not in politics, economics, or other large social forces. It was the will of an omnipotent God, punishment for the sins of the American people. In a letter to someone who had written him seeking an appointment for a relative, he wrote on April 25, the day Virginia joined the Confederacy: "tell him that no earthly act could give me so much pleasure as to restore peace to my country. But I fear it is now out of the power of man, and in God alone must be our trust."[20] When a girl in the North asked for his photograph Lee replied by describing the pain and anguish that the war would cause. He added that he hoped that God would reunite the severed bonds of friendship, and turn all hearts to peace. He trusted that a merciful God would yet prevent a war. But whatever happened he expected that the country would have to pass through a terrible ordeal, "a necessary expiation, perhaps, of our national sins."[21] "The country seems to be in a lamentable condition & may have been plunged into civil war," he told his son. "May God save us from the folly of our acts, save us from our selfishness & teach us to love our neighbor as ourself."[22]

God had brought about the war, and in order to win, the Confederacy must obey His will. In April 1861 someone asked Lee if he was confident that the Confederacy would win the war. His answer revealed the depth of his conviction and its overpowering influence on his thinking. "In God alone must be our trust. At present, I am not concerned with results." he said. "God's Will ought to be our aim, and I am quite contented that his designs should be accomplished and not mine."[23] On February 23, 1862, Lee told Mary, "I hope God will at last crown all our efforts with success. But the contest must be long and severe, and the whole country has to go through much suffering. It is necessary we should be humbled and taught to be less boastful, less selfish, and more devoted to right and justice to all the world."[24]

Two years of war did not change Lee's comprehension of its origins. What success the new nation had gained so far came from "the blessing of God," he said in early 1863.[25] He closed a discussion of the war by indicating that God controlled all events. "My whole trust is in God, and I am ready for whatever He may ordain."[26] He told Mary that he did not let a day pass without praying for "His manifold individual & national blessings" and recognized the "protection & guidance" that He had already bestowed upon them. "I know that in Him is our only salvation. He alone can give us peace & freedom & I humbly submit to His holy will."[27]

In June 1863 Lee wrote the clearest statement he ever made of his understanding of the war and how it must be fought and won. Lee told President Jefferson Davis that their enemies enjoyed a significant advantage in "numbers, resources, and all the means and appliances for carrying on the war," and that the only way to deal effectively with this was for the Confederacy to mobilize all its resources. The nation must also turn to God and seek "such deliverance as the mercy of Heaven may accord to the courage of our soldiers, the justice of our cause, and the constancy and prayers of our people." He interpreted the events of the war so far as "the measure of success with which God has blessed our efforts as an earnest of His approval and favor...."[28]

Even after Gettysburg he wrote of the war as a result of God's Will. "I trust that our merciful God, our only help & refuge, will not desert us in this our hour of need, but will deliver us by His almighty hand, that the whole world may recognize His power & all hearts be lifted up in adoration & praise of His unbounded loving kindness," he told Mary. "We must however submit to His almighty will, whatever that may be."[29] In another letter he wrote that "we must implore the forgiveness of God for our sins, & the continuance of His blessings." He added: "There is nothing but His almighty power that can sustain us."[30]

THE GOD OF BATTLE

Lee's comprehension of God's role in the war can be seen in three categories of statements: those he made (1) in anticipation of, or preparation for, campaigns or battles; (2) after successes; and (3) following defeats and disappointments. It is important to note that Lee never assumed that God was on the side of the Confederacy, but hoped and prayed that He would favor the South.

When a thunderstorm interrupted his campaign in western Virginia in 1861 Lee knew he must fight a battle to drive the enemy away, but "circumstances beyond human control delay it, I know for good," he said. "[B]ut I hope the Great Ruler of the Universe will continue to aid and prosper us, and crown at last our feeble effort with success." He knew that he could not be always successful, and reverses must occur. "May God give us courage, endurance, and faith to strive to the end," he added.[31] A few months later he told Mary that he hoped "God will crown our success" in the coming campaign.[32] When Federal troops seemed to be advancing on all fronts Lee remarked, "The enemy is pushing us back in all directions, & how far he will be successful depends much upon our efforts & the mercy of Providence."[33] Just before Second Manassas Lee told Mary, "It looks like the approach of a great battle. I pray God we may, if so, be given a great success."[34] In the spring of 1863, after an extremely hard winter, the army was in bad shape, scattered, without forage or food, and could not remain long together. "But God I hope will take care of us," he said.[35] When the Army of the Potomac began to move, he told Mary that his army was being pressed on all sides, but he hoped "that a kind Providence will protect us and drive them back."[36] Just before Gettysburg he told Richard Ewell that he trusted in "the guidance of a merciful God," and invoked "His protection for your corps."[37]

After virtually every victory Lee stated his belief that the outcome was a result of God's Will, thus portraying his army as the instrument of the Lord. "Profoundly grateful to almighty God for the signal victory granted to us," he wrote in the middle of the Seven Days, "it is my pleasing task to announce to you the success achieved by this army today." Lee believed that the Federal army should have been destroyed, then added "regret that more was not accomplished gives way to gratitude to the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe for the results achieved."[38] Shortly after McClellan withdrew from the Peninsula Lee issued a General Order to all his troops congratulating them on their success, and attributing it to God first, then the army: "The general commanding, profoundly grateful to the only Giver of all victory for the signal success

Opposite Top: Edwin Forbes' sketch (view from the Union side) of General John B. Hood's Texas Brigade surging out of the woods to attack the Union left flank at the Battle of Second Manassas.

Opposite Bottom: Alfred R. Waud's drawing of the attack on the Confederate works at Fredericksburg.

Below: Divine service in a Confederate camp is interrupted by a colonel who informs the worshipers that the enemy is approaching.

CHRIST IN THE CAMP (1887)

with which He has blessed our arms," he declared, "tenders his warmest thanks and congratulations to the army, by whose valor such splendid results have been achieved."[39] After one of Stonewall Jackson's most impressive victories Lee told his famous subordinate: "I congratulate you most heartily on the victory which God has granted you over our enemy at Cedar Run."[40] He gave thanks for the victory at Fredericksburg, and told Jackson that he was "truly grateful to the Giver of all victory for having blessed us thus far in our terrible struggle. I pray He may continue to do so."[41]

At the end of the Second Manassas Campaign he told the president that the army had achieved "a signal victory" over the combined forces of McClellan and Pope. "In every conflict yet our gratitude to Almighty God for his mercies rises higher and higher each day, to him and to the valour of our troops a nation's gratitude is due."[42] Describing Stuart's successful ride around the entire Army of the Potomac, Lee remarked that it was due to the skill of the cavalrymen "under the guidance of an overruling Providence...."[43] After Jubal Early's victory at Winchester, Lee said that "God has again crowned the valor of our troops with success."[44] On Christmas Day, 1862, Lee again noted the apparent consistency of God's work in his private and public lives:

> My heart is filled with gratitude to Almighty God for His unspeakable mercies with which He has blessed us in this day, for those He has granted us from the beginning of life, & particularly for those He has vouchsafed us during the past year. What should have become of us without His crowning help & protection? I have seen His hand in all the events of the war.... For in Him alone I know is our trust & safety.[45]

After Gettysburg Lee continued to profess his trust in God, but such comments came less frequently. "Our noble men are cheerful & confident," he wrote to Mary just after the battle. "May God in His mercy bless our efforts to serve our country!"[46] More importantly, during the retreat he told Jefferson Davis that he would have to accept battle if the enemy offered it, "whether I wish to or not, and as the result is in the hands of the Sover-

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eign Ruler of the Universe, and known to Him only, I deem it prudent to make every arrangement in our power to meet any emergency that may arise."[47] He added that he was not discouraged, nor was his faith "in the protection of an all merciful Providence, or in the fortitude of this army...at all shaken."[48] On July 10 he sent instructions to Jeb Stuart, adding: "We must prepare for a vigorous battle, and trust in the mercy of God and the valor of our troops."[49] Two days later he admitted to Davis that "I still trust that a kind Providence will cause all things to work together for our good."[50]

In August 1863 a change is discernible in Lee's attitude and understanding of the relationship between God and the war. The references to God's Will in Lee's reports declined noticeably. Now Lee preferred to praise his men and leave out the references to Providence. When such observations occurred, they were qualitatively different, both shorter and briefer, almost perfunctory. One senses a lessening of conviction, especially in contrast to his earlier phrasing. At the Wilderness Lee told Secretary of War James Seddon, "Every advance on his part, thanks to a merciful God, has been repulsed."[51] At Spotsylvania he noted, "Thanks to a merciful Providence our casualties have been small."[52] Resignation could be read in his statement after the bloody victory at Cold Harbor: "Our loss today has been small, and our success, under the blessing of God, all that we could expect."[53] But such comments were few and far between, and less confident than hitherto. Things were not going well for the Confederacy, and Lee understood the implications that God's Will might well be on the side of the Union.

When the army lost an engagement or achieved less than Lee expected or desired, that too was God's Will. Early in the war, when prospects for promotion were delayed, he resigned himself to it: "We are all of us in the hand of a kind God who will do for us what is best."[54] When a rain storm prevented an attack Lee noted that he had taken every precaution to insure success and had counted on it, "but the Ruler of the universe willed otherwise and sent a storm to disconcert a well-laid plan and to destroy my hopes."[55] When he heard about the disasters at Forts Henry and Donelson in Tennessee in 1862, his thoughts turned to its implications for the new nation. It was a dark time, but Lee was convinced that God was merciful and that all would be right in the end.[56] The Seven Days Campaign drove McClellan's enormous army away from Richmond and was hailed throughout the Confederacy as a brilliant campaign, but Lee was not completely satisfied. He took refuge in the thought that the wisdom of God must be recognized and accepted. "I have returned to my old quarters dear Mary & am filled with gratitude to our Heavenly Father for all the mercies He has extended to us," he wrote. "Our success has not been as great or complete as I could have desired, but God knows what is best for us."[57] Perhaps the clearest statement of Lee's belief that God played a vital role in a defeat came in the jeremiad he issued to accompany Davis' call for a day of fasting after Gettysburg. The army must now prepare for harder blows and harder work, Lee wrote, "but my trust is in He who favors the weak and relieves the oppressed, and my hourly prayer is that He will 'fight for us once again.' "[58] After General Meade had escaped from Mine Run, Lee again made reference to the Lord's role in the war. "I am greatly disappointed at [Meade's] getting off with so little damage, but we do not know what is best for us. I believe a kind God has ordered all things for our good."[59]

During the string of retreats from August 1863 to the end of the war hopes for God's favor in battle virtually disappeared from Lee's writing. The most eloquent statement came well after the siege of Petersburg had begun. "As usual we have to mourn the loss of brave men & officers, worth more to me than the whole Federal nation," he wrote. "But we must bear all that an ever-loving God inflicts upon us, until He is graciously pleased to pardon our sins & to relieve us from the heavy punishment that they have brought upon us."[60] In January 1865 he told Mary that he prayed daily and hourly that the Heavenly Father would give relief to her and to the country. "I know He will order all things for our good," he said, "and we must be content."[61] The last of Lee's invocations of God's Will in military messages came in his acceptance of the post of general-in-chief in February 1865, just a few weeks before the army abandoned Richmond,

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J.E.B. Stuart (above) is thought of today as the most secular of Lee's subordinates, yet he too made Christian statements a staple of his military communications.

and at a time that Lee could see the end coming. In obedience to Davis' order he accepted the position, then noted his reliance upon providence:

> Deeply impressed with the difficulties and responsibility of the position, and humbly invoking the guidance of Almighty God, I rely for success upon the courage and fortitude of the army, sustained by the patriotism and firmness of the people, confident that their united efforts, under the blessing of Heaven, will secure peace and independence.[62]

Lee's most famous written message, General Order No. 9, issued at Appomattox Court House in April 1865, in effect recognized that God had not favored the Confederacy; Lee simply asked for God's blessing of the men. Consistent to the end, shortly after the surrender Lee recognized that the defeat was God's Will: "We have appealed to the God of battles, and He has decided against us."[63]

GOD AND THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA

Lee's deepest convictions shaped several important aspects of his mode of warfare. In his capacity as commander of the army, he fought to achieve Christian goals, tried to use Christian principles in waging war, and encouraged the Christianization of his army. Lee sought to live according to his faith, and thus ex-

General Lee attending a soldiers' prayer meeting.

BOTH FROM CHRIST IN THE CAMP (1887)

Distributing tracts in the trenches

erted his leadership by example. All of this was not a formal policy explained in detailed manifestos, but was part of his Christian impulse to do good, and expressed his understanding of the world, militarily and otherwise. In effect, Lee sought to make his army an instrument of God's Will.

Like Jefferson Davis and many Southern theologians, Lee saw the Confederacy as a Christian nation fighting for its survival. With the clergy's active endorsement of secession and war came a different sense of Confederate nationalism. Christianity offered a set of ideas out of which a national identity could be constructed and a violent war pursued. With Christian legitimacy came a sense of moral rightness. For many Southerners independence from the United States of America—with its Southern traditions and founding—was painful to contemplate and wrenching to execute. Only the highest ideals could justify the rebellion, and Christianity offered ideals of the highest sort. Some theologians portrayed the war as a purification ritual in which the purest and most virtuous would triumph. These previously patriotic American men of God responded to Jefferson Davis' call and articulated a powerful vision of the Confederacy as a chosen nation fighting for a righteous cause. They reclaimed their American past and reinvented themselves as divine spokesmen for a new Christian nation. Southern theologian James Henley Thornwell described the two sides this way: "The parties in this conflict are not merely abolitionists and slave-holders—they are atheists, socialists, communists, red republicans, Jacobins on the one side and the friends of order and regulated freedom on the other. In one word, the world is the battleground, Christianity and atheism the combatants, and the progress of humanity is at stake." Editors of tracts and newspapers joined preachers in using words like "holy," "just," and "righteous" to describe the war as binding the Confederacy to God through a special relationship. They claimed divine sanction for the new nation and the war in the Bible. Calling men to support the Confederacy sounded remarkably like calling men to Christ. They compared their godly South with a godless North. Their language blurred distinction between Christianity and the Confederacy until the two became one.

Among the techniques clergy found for shaping the new Confederate nationalism were the national day of fasting and the "jeremiad," ironically borrowed from the traditions of the New England Puritans. The jeremiad consisted of a sermon or other public pronouncement that recited the people's weaknesses, depravity, and sinfulness, then added a call to reform themselves and cleanse the nation's errors. Southern theologians insisted that Southerners were a single people, bound together in a unique Christian nation favored by God. They argued that victory and national glory would be achieved only if the people lived up to God's high expectations and turned away from sin. Jeremiads and days of fasting were rarely seen in the South before the war, but rose to prominence rather quickly once it began. The ritual of fasting and the sense of cleansing sinfulness played an important role in the evolving life of the Confederacy. In towns and rural areas throughout the Confederacy, the ritual of a public fast and the incantation of the jeremiad created a sense of Confederate identity and legitimacy grounded in religious values.

The ascendance of the public fast in the Confederacy was truly remarkable. Abraham Lincoln proclaimed three such days of national fasting during the war. Jefferson Davis announced and organized *ten* such events. In addition, there were multiple state and local fasts in the Confederacy, as well as fasts in specific armies. After Gettysburg Davis called for a day of fasting and prayer; Lee added his own jeremiad, and had it printed and distributed to his men. He ordered the entire army to participate in the cleansing:

> Soldiers! we have sinned against Almighty God. We have forgotten His signal mercies, and have cultivated a revengeful, haughty, and boastful spirit. We have not remembered that the defenders of a just cause should be pure in His eyes; that 'our times are in His hands,' and we have relied too much on our own arms for the achievement of our independence. God is our only refuge and our strength. Let us humble ourselves before Him. Let us confess our many sins, and beseech Him to give us a higher courage, a purer patriotism, and more determined will; that He will convert the hearts of our enemies; that He will hasten the time when war, with its sorrows and sufferings, shall cease, and that He will give us a name and place among the nations of the earth.[64]

In March 1864 Lee ordered another day of fasting and prayer, accompanied by a similar jeremiad:

> Soldiers! Let us humble ourselves before the Lord, our God, asking through Christ, the forgiveness of

our sins, beseeching the aid of the God of our forefathers in the defense of our homes and our liberties, thanking Him for His past blessings, and imploring their continuance upon our cause and our people.[65]

One observer has written that had such an order been issued by Napoleon or Wellington, it would have seemed absurd.[66] Had such a message been issued by George McClellan, John Pope, Ambrose Burnside, Joseph Hooker, George Meade, or Ulysses S. Grant, it would have appeared just as absurd. But it was received with no objection, and seemed very much in keeping with Lee's spiritual attitude. Lee's men knew that he thoroughly believed the sentiments and applied them to himself.

Lee's religion colored his attitude toward his opponents, especially toward John Pope, the only Federal general for whom he ever expressed a personal dislike. His animosity was a result of Pope's "unchristian" warfare. McClellan, for example, did not make war on women and children. Twice during his command Mary Lee was caught behind his lines and both times Little Mac had her escorted out of danger.[67] When John Pope came to Virginia he threatened to wage war on civilians, including women and children. Pope directed his army to live off the civilian population and to reimburse only those who professed loyalty to the Union. Civilians must pay for any damage done to Federal property by Confederate guerrillas and Pope's troops were instructed to burn any house from which a Federal soldier was shot. The most egregious order put all male Virginians within Union lines subject to arrest and deportation if they failed to sign an oath of allegiance. Anyone who returned, and anyone who communicated with the enemy, was subject to a penalty of death. One of Pope's subordinates arrested five men in Luray, Virginia, and announced that if one of his men were shot, one of the prisoners would also be shot unless the guilty partisan was turned over to him. "I want Pope to be suppressed," Lee said. "The course indicated in his orders if the newspapers report them correctly cannot be permitted." In one official report Lee referred to Pope as a "miscreant."

The Christian principles Lee sought to follow in fighting the war were as simple as his faith. During the Pennsylvania Campaign he drew a stark contrast between his own army and nation, and the enemy. The conduct of the enemy was "not dictated by kindness & love, & therefore we should not expect them to behave otherwise than they do." The Confederacy should not match an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. "I do not think we should follow their example," he said, "the consequences of war is [*sic*] horrid enough at best, surrounded by all the amelioration of civilization & Christianity. Why should we aggravate them?"[68]

In his effort to fight a Christian war, Lee tried to shape or transform the ANV into a Christian army, an instrument of the Lord. This can be seen most clearly in a series of General Orders he issued in 1863 and 1864. Perhaps the most famous of these came while the army was in Pennsylvania. Lee felt it was important for the army to be on its best behavior so that the differences between his army's treatment of civilians would contrast visibly with the behavior of Federal armies in Virginia. Christian principles would thus help gain the political goals of the campaign: to weaken Northern support for the war and bring the Lincoln administration to the negotiating table.[69] On June 27 Lee told his men that he had observed, with great satisfaction, their conduct and that it foretold great results for the campaign. He praised them for their admirable character that had been instrumental in maintaining the yet unsullied reputation of the army. They had performed "the duties exacted of us by civilization and Christianity" that were "not less obligatory in the country of the enemy than in our own." He then called upon them to continue their exemplary behavior:

> The commanding general considers that no greater disgrace could befall the army, and through it our whole people, than the perpetration of the barbarous outrages upon the unarmed, and defenceless and the wanton destruction of private property that have marked the course of the enemy in our own country.
>
> Such proceedings not only degrade the perpetrators and all concerned with them, but are subversive of the discipline and efficiency of the army, and destructive of the ends of our present movement.
>
> It must be remembered that we make war only upon armed men, and that we cannot take vengeance for the wrongs our people have suffered without lowering ourselves in the eyes of all whose abhorrence has been excited by the atrocities of our enemies, and offending against Him to whom vengeance belongeth, without whose favor and support our efforts must all prove in vain.

Finally, Lee exhorted them to abstain with most scrupulous care from "unnecessary or wanton injury to private property," and called upon his officers to arrest and "bring to summary punishment all who shall in any way offend against the orders on this subject."[70]

On the ride into Pennsylvania Lee remarked to Isaac Trimble that he "had received letters from many prominent men in the South urging retaliatory acts while

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George McClellan. Twice during his command he escorted Mary Lee out of danger.

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John Pope, the only Federal general for whom Lee ever expressed a personal dislike.

in the enemy's country, on property, &c., for ravages and destruction on Southern homes." Lee continued: "These are my own views, I cannot hope that heaven will prosper our cause when we are violating its laws. I shall, therefore, carry on the war in Pennsylvania without offending the sanction of a high civilization and of Christianity."[71]

Early in the war Lee had remarked, "One of the miseries of war is that there is no Sabbath."[72] In July 1862, he issued an order that everything but inspections would be suspended on Sundays in order that the men could attend religious services.[73] A few months later he issued an order tying together a victory and observation of the Sabbath. "While this glorious victory entitles you to the praises and gratitude of the nation," he told his men, "we are especially called upon to return our grateful thanks to the only Giver of victory for the signal deliverance He wrought." He then earnestly recommended that the troops unite on Sunday "to ascribe unto the Lord of Hosts the glory due unto His name."[74] In early 1864 Lee set out to correct that problem—and make his men better Christians—by issuing a General Order systematically making religion part of the normal routine. A proper observance of the Sabbath was not only a moral and religious duty, he told his men, but it also contributed to the personal well-being and health of the army. He was pleased that many brigades had recently erected convenient houses of worship in the winter encampment and directed that only duties that were strictly military necessities be performed on Sunday. The normal Sunday inspections must be held "at such time as not to interfere with the attendance of the men on divine service at the customary hour in the morning." Order and quiet must be maintained around the houses of worship.

The powerful impact of Lee's religion can also be seen in his choice of, and relationships with, his subordinates. Lee surrounded himself with others who shared his basic beliefs, if not all their details. Stonewall Jackson is the most conspicuous example, but most of the men who were successful in working with Lee shared his religious convictions to a degree. Jeb Stuart is thought of today as the most secular of Lee's subordinates, yet he too made Christian statements a staple of his military communications, including such phrases as "profoundly grateful to Divine Providence for the signal success attending the late expedition to the enemy's rear," and "with an abiding trust in God."[75] James Longstreet and John Bell Hood both experienced conversions or similar commitments during the war. One historian listed other "like-minded" officers as D. H. Hill, Thomas R. Cobb, A. H. Colquitt, Kirby Smith, John B. Gordon, Charles H. Evans, A. M. Scales, Willie Pegram, Lewis M. Coleman, T. H. Carter, Carter Braxton, Charles Venable, Richard Ewell, Richard Anderson, William Dorsey Pender, W. H. S. Baylor, and Robert Rodes.[76] Many others could be added to this list. By contrast, Oliver Otis Howard, the much-maligned commander of the Army of the Potomac's XI Corps, well-known abolitionist and a founder of Howard University, is the only person to face Lee who had a reputation for being a devout Christian.

WILLIAM TURNER COLLECTION

Left: William Nelson Pendleton, who became Lee's pastor after the war.

LIBRRY OF CONGRESS

Below: General Lee frequently attended preaching at Jackson's headquarters. In this sketch by Adalbert J. Volck entitled "Prayer in Stonewall Jackson's Camp," Jackson is standing to the left, and A.P. Hill, also standing, is leaning on his sword facing Jackson. Others depicted include Lieutenant Colonel A.J. Pendleton, Lieutenant Colonel William Allen, Major H.K. Douglas, Dr. Hunter McGuire, Captain J. Smith, and Major William J. Hawks.

Lee's commitment to Christian faith may well solve the puzzle of his reliance upon William Nelson Pendleton as his chief of artillery long after it should have become apparent that he was in over his head. Pendleton, who worked with Lee longer than most of his subordinates and as long as anyone, was an ordained minister in the Episcopal Church. Pendleton became Lee's pastor after the war and was instrumental in helping Washington College hire his former commanding officer. It is both logical and entirely possible, though not provable, that Lee valued Pendleton's piety above his military competence.

LEADERSHIP, PUBLIC WORSHIP, AND CHARISMA

Lee's participation in public worship played a key role in his leadership of the army. In tandem with his success on the field of battle, the expressions of the faith Lee shared with many of his men helped him develop and strengthen a feeling of

community based on shared religious beliefs quite unlike anything in the Army of the Potomac. The army reinforced, reawakened, and refreshed the prewar cultural experiences of the men.

Stories of Lee praying with his officers and men are abundant. Sometimes he arrived unannounced and unescorted at Stonewall Jackson's headquarters to attend services, to observe the discussions of army chaplains, and to participate in their prayers. In one account, Lee and Jackson, seated on a log, were moved to tears by a sermon that discussed the homes and hearths that Confederate soldiers had left behind. At Fredericksburg in the spring of 1863 over one thousand men gathered with Lee, Jackson, Jubal Early, Joseph Kershaw, and "a host of officers of various rank." Such moments were of immeasurable value to Lee, for prayer meetings encouraged the dedication and camaraderie of Christian men sharing a common prayer. Perhaps the most famous instance occurred along the Plank Road at Mine Run in November 1863. One Sunday morning, as Lee and A.P. Hill inspected the lines, they came upon a group of private soldiers engaged in an impromptu prayer service. The general and their staffs dismounted, removed their hats, and knelt in prayer with the men. A similar incident occurred when the army was moving to the defense of Petersburg in 1864. Seeing a clergyman kneeling by the side of the road Lee halted and knelt with him to ask God for wisdom and strength in the coming campaign. On another occasion Lee rode along the lines and found a group of enlisted men grouped in prayer. He knelt beside the road in the dust while a minister prayed for Divine guidance in the operations he was about to undertake.

Lee took great interest in hearing reports of the revival among his men. Once, after two chaplains had finished a report, one said, "I think it right that I should say to you, General, that the chaplains of this army have a deep interest in your welfare, and that some of the most fervent prayers we offer are in your behalf." Lee flushed deeply at this remark and tears filled his eyes. "Please thank them for that sir," he replied. "I warmly appreciate it. And I can only say that I am nothing but a poor sinner, trusting in Christ alone for salvation, and need all the prayers they can offer for me."[77]

Lee's public worship with his men, in addition to the jeremiads and emphasis on religion in his orders and reports, served as a way of communicating to them his perception of himself as part of the Christian fellowship of the army. It helped them forge a sense of belonging to a society blessed by God and fighting for a power and cause far higher than mere political independence. It was no accident that by the end of the war Lee had become, for his men and for many across the South, a symbol of community, family, God, and civilization itself.

FAITH AND DEATH IN COMBAT

We have already seen that, in his private life, death held no fear for Lee. The logic that led him to conclude that those he loved were in a better place after death also shaped his command of the ANV. The same belief in an omnipotent and loving God allowed many of his men to go into combat unafraid or with little fear of being wounded or killed. God directed events, and if one's time to die had come, nothing could stop the bullet. If it was not yet time, one would live through the battle. The result was that the Confederate soldier could go into battle feeling free to be as aggressive as he wanted. One Southern soldier described the inner role of religion in combat:

> In the battle of Seven Pines, in which we lost one-third of our regiment in about twenty minutes, amidst the most terrific shower of shot and shell of this whole war, the Lord not only so far sustained me as to enable me to stand up and do my duty to my country, but to do it without the least fear of anything man can do unto me. Nor did I, as many men seem to do, lose sight of my personal danger. My mood was so calm that my calculations were perfectly rational. I felt that the Lord's hand was with me, that his shield was over me and that whatever befell me would be by his agency or permission, and therefore it would all be well with me. It was a period of positive religious enjoyment, and yet of the most vigorous discharge of my duties as a soldier.[78]

This attitude allowed soldiers (on both sides) to go into combat with little

STRATFORD HALL PLANTATION

Colonel John Washington

or no fear for their lives, and allowed Lee to take great risks and to send his army into combat against great odds. The first major casualty Lee had to deal with was the death of his aide-de-camp, Colonel John Washington, a nephew of George Washington, who was killed during the Cheat Mountain Campaign in the fall of 1861. It fell to Lee to write a letter to Washington's daughter. This is one of the best examples of Lee's faith at work and his reference to it in a key situation, so the entire letter deserves to be quoted:

> With a heart filled with grief, I have to communicate the saddest tidings you have ever heard.
>
> May 'Our Father, Who is in Heaven' enable you to bear it, for in His inscrutable Providence, abounding in mercy and omnipotent in power, He has made you fatherless on earth. Your dear father, in reconnoitering the enemy's position, came into the range of fire of his pickets and was instantly killed. He fell in the cause to which he had devoted all his energies, and in which his noble heart was warmly enlisted. My intimate association with him for some months has more fully disclosed to me his great worth, than double so many years of ordinary intercourse would have been sufficient to reveal. We have shared the same tent, and morning and evening has his earnest devotion to Almighty God elicited my grateful admiration. He is now safely in Heaven, I trust with

BATTLES AND LEADERS OF THE CIVIL WAR

Sitting on a cracker box in the woods near Chancellorsville, Lee and Jackson plan the flank march.

her he so loved on earth. We ought not to wish him back.[79]

Lee turned to his faith to deal with the shock when Stonewall Jackson was shot by his own men. He believed that his subordinate had been removed "by the hand of an inscrutable but all-wise Providence." A few days after Jackson's death Lee wrote to John Bell Hood and explained his understanding of the event. "I grieve much over the death of General Jackson.... For our sake not for his. He is happy and at peace. But his spirit lives with us."[80] His words were almost identical in 1864 when Jeb Stuart was killed at Yellow Tavern: "The mysterious hand of an all wise God has removed him from the scene of his usefulness and fame."[81] Lee's way of coming to terms with life and death was no different when his son Rooney was captured by the Union army, forcing him to write Mary that he would "not repine at the will of God" for he was confident that Rooney's capture would "eventuate in some good we know not now."[82] When Mary told him how much she missed their son, Lee replied that he did too. "In the lone hours of the night I groan in sorrow at his captivity and separation from you," he said, but added that "we must all bear it, exercise all our patience, and do nothing to aggravate the evil." To act otherwise would injure themselves, please the enemy, and be sinful in the eyes of God. "Indeed the loss of our gallant officers and men causes me to weep tears of blood and to wish that I never could hear the sound of a gun again," he wrote to Mary. "My only consolation is that they are the happier and we that are left are to be pitied."[83]

The religious convictions that Lee shared with his officers and men served as a key element in Lee's audacity. It led him to conclude that the deaths of his most important generals, and even the imprisonment of his son, were God's Will, and thus would be for the good of all in the long run. With this level of trust in God Lee rode into battle, and sent his men into battle no matter the odds, for it was God's Will that would prevail, and the result would be the best for all concerned. He summed up this attitude in the spring of 1863 when he said that he prayed that "our merciful Father in Heaven may protect & direct us. In that case I fear no odds & no numbers."[84] Thus maneuvers like splitting his army at Second Manassas, the attack on Malvern Hill, Jackson's flank march, and Pickett's Charge, which to some now seem desperate and even suicidal, looked far different to Lee.

CONCLUSION

Lee's faith in an omnipotent and merciful God, one who actively intervened in human affairs, provided the framework of perception and language of expression for all aspects of his life, private and public. For Lee not to have conducted his work as a general, or not to have developed his perceptions of the war, or organized his role in the army and his army in the war, in Christian terms, would have required him to put aside the essence of his understanding of the world, its nature, his role in it and even his very identity. It would have required him to compartmentalize his life, separating those aspects of his life from his work as a general, and that he could not do.

Lee internalized a Christian worldview. He saw the war as God's Will, called down to punish Americans for their sins. As he sought to live his life by his faith, so he tried to wage war to establish the independence of a Christian Republic and to fight according to Christian principles. He sought to encourage Christianity in the ANV and instill Christian values and behavior in the men. He surrounded himself with officers who shared similar perspectives. In leading his life according to his beliefs he set an example for his men and thus infused his leadership with religious zeal and helped create the sense of community between himself and his men that so characterized his army at the end of the war.

Lee's faith provided a key element in his aggressive campaigns and battlefield tactics. Lee feared neither battle nor death, for his men or for himself. He did not go into combat thinking that God was on his side, but instead hoped and prayed that "The Great Giver of All Victory" would decide the outcome in his favor. To the modern American Lee's aggressive tactics might seem like tosses of the dice, sheer luck, moves made against enormous odds, even impossible or suicidal. But Lee thought he had to take risks to secure Confederate independence, and to him the risks were practicable, to use one of his favorite words, and well-calculated.[85] He understood that his gamble at Second Manassas, Jackson's flank march, and Pickett's Charge were likely to produce long casualty lists, and his willingness to ask his men to pay these costs, and their willingness, time and time again, to bear them, drew upon their shared faith in God's mercy, their sense of belonging to a Christian community, and their belief in themselves and their leaders. Perhaps most importantly, Lee believed the results would be best for all concerned, and if a man died he would

be in a better place. It was this faith that allowed him to pray that "our merciful Father in Heaven may protect & direct us," and then to add, "In that case I fear no odds & no numbers."[86]

Waging war according to Christian principles led to specific policies. Under Lee there would be no "hard hand of war," no war on women and children. His General Orders during the Pennsylvania Campaign did not produce a sixty-mile swath of destruction through the state. Lee did not burn Chambersburg, Carlisle, York, Harrisburg, Gettysburg or any other town. A distinct qualitative difference existed between Lee in Pennsylvania and Sheridan in the Valley or Sherman in South Carolina, and that difference can be ascribed to Lee's religion. Lee would issue no order to a subordinate telling them to make sure that a crow flying over Pennsylvania would have to carry his own provender. Because of Lee's emphasis on Christian principles, the Army of Northern Virginia was probably more disciplined, and more effective in combat, than it might otherwise have been. Part of the striking power it was so famous for can be traced to the belief shared by Lee and his men that God controlled events, and if He so chose, they would survive the fight. In addition, Lee based his argument with Davis to treat Federals in Confederate prisons better than Southerners were treated in the North, on Christian principles. The bond that developed between Lee and his army, and indeed between him and the white people of the South, was at least partially a result of his public worship and his Christian humility. His willingness to share his men's trials and to pray with them, in public, resulted in a high level of trust. At Appomattox Lee could easily have disbanded his army and told his men to wage guerrilla warfare, which could not have avoided civilian casualties and might have gone on for decades. But as Lee said, the Confederacy had relied upon the God of Battle, and He had decided against them. Lee thought God's Will was clear, and he would obey it.

When next we study Robert E. Lee sitting on a cracker box in the woods near Chancellorsville planning Jackson's flank march, or astride Traveller on Seminary Ridge planning Pickett's Charge, we must understand the decision-maker was Lee the soldier, with all his empirical knowledge, *and* Lee the believer, with his faith in God and dedication to Christian principles. It was this Lee who declared that "we have humbly tried to do our duty. We may, therefore, with calm satisfaction, trust in God and leave the results to Him."[87]

RICHARD ROLLINS is a former president of the Long Beach Civil War Round Table, the founder of Rank and File Publications, and author or editor of several books on the Civil War. Nearly a dozen of his articles have appeared in *North & South* and the *Gettysburg Magazine* in recent years. He lives in Southern California.

The author would like to thank Harold Bernstein, Paul Hemphill, Anna Howland, George Otott, Ron Rietveld, and Charles Teague for their thoughts on an earlier draft.

NOTES:

1. Quoted in Jay Luvaas, "Lee and the Operational Art: The Right Place, the Right Time," *Parameters: Journal of the U.S. Army War College* (Autumn, 1992): p. 2. The comment was made by a foreign observer in the army, in German. Two other translations exist and will be cited later.
2. Ironically religion in the South has been much more frequently the subject of historians studying the postwar period. "Lost Cause" southerners portrayed theirs as a noble cause led by Christian men. They made much of revivals during the war to contrast fervor of Southerners with machine-like impersonal Yankees who won with overwhelming numbers, not righteous purpose or character. The image of the Christian soldier became a stock figure in Southern historical literature. Confederate "apologists" won the war by casting Confederates, including the Christ-like Lee, as morally superior to the Yankee bummers. See Reid Mitchell, "Christian Soldiers? Perfecting the Confederacy," in Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout and Charles Reagan Wilson, eds. *Religion and the American Civil War* (New York: 1998).
3. Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee: A Biography,* 4 Vols. (New York: 1934-1935), and *Lee's Lieutenants* (New York: 1943-1945).
4. Emory M. Thomas, *Lee: A Biography* (New York: 1995).
5. T. Michael Parrish, "The R. E. Lee 200: An Annotated Bibliography of Essential Books on Lee's Military Career," in Gary Gallagher, ed., *Lee The Soldier* (Lincoln, Nebraska: 1996).
6. Robert R. Brown, *"And One Was A Soldier": The Spiritual Pilgrimage of Robert E. Lee* (Shippensburg, Pa.: 1998), p. 26.
7. Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr., *A Shield and Hiding Place: The Religious Life of the Civil War Armies* (Macon, Georgia: 1987), p. 96.
8. J. William Jones, *Christ in the Camp,* (Richmond: 1887) is the best account of the role of religion in the army by a contemporary. For an analysis of the ways in which religious belief shaped the Confederate soldier's performance in combat, see the first chapter, "Culture and Combat," in Richard Rollins, *"The Damned Red Flags of the Rebellion": The Confederate Battle Flag at Gettysburg* (Redondo Beach, CA.: 1997).
9. Letter to Mary, September 1, 1856, quoted in Fitzhugh Lee, *General Lee* (New York: 1895), p. 61.
10. Quoted in John M. Taylor, *Duty Faithfully Performed: Robert E. Lee and His Critics* (Dulles, Virginia.: 1999), p. 34.
11. The Episcopal *Book of Common Prayer,* 1978, p. 868.
12. Robert E. Lee, *To Markie,* Avery Craven, ed. (Cambridge: 1933), p. 65.
13. Quoted in Jones, *Christ in Camp,* 65.
14. Quoted in James Young, *Marse Robert, Knight of the Confederacy* (New York: 1929), p. 344.
15. Lee to "one of his daughters," December 25, 1861, quoted in Freeman, *Lee,* 1, p. 619.
16. Robert E. Lee, Jr., *Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee* (New York: 1904), p. 79.
17. Lee to Mary, November 24, 1862, quoted in Lee, *Recollections,* 80.
18. To Mary, December 16, 1862, in Clifford Dowdey and Louis H. Manarin, eds., *Wartime Papers of Robert E. Lee* (Boston: 1961), pp. 364-65.
19. Quoted in J. William Jones, *Personal Reminiscences of Gen. Robert E. Lee* (New York: 1874), p. 401.
20. Lee to _____, April 25, 1861, *Wartime Papers,* 12. See also To _____, April.25, 1861, *Wartime Papers,* 12. See also To Mary, April 26, 1861, 13.
21. Quoted in Freeman, *Lee,* 1, p. 476.
22. To G.W. C. Lee, January 30, 1861, Robert E. Lee Papers, Perkins Library, Duke University.
23. Jones, *Personal Reminiscences,* 143, and Freeman, *Lee,* 1, p. 526
24. Quoted in Lee, Jr., *Recollections,* 63.
25. To James A. Seddon, January 10, 1863, *Wartime Papers,* 388-90.
26. Freeman, *R.E. Lee,* 3, p. 268
27. To Mary, March 27, 1863, *Wartime Papers,* 419.
28. Lee to Davis, June 10, 1863, *Wartime Papers,* 507-09.
29. To Mary, July 12, 1864, *Wartime papers,* 547-48.

30. To Mary, July 15, 1864, *Wartime Papers,* 551.
31. Quoted in Freeman, *Lee,* 1, p. 452.
32. To Mary, February 8, 1862, *Wartime Papers,* 111.
33. To Mary, March 14, 1862, *Wartime Papers,* 128.
34. To Mary, August 27, 1862, in Susan P. Lee, *Memoirs of William Nelson Pendleton* (Harrisonburg, Va.: 1991) reprint of 1893 edition, 206.
35. To Mary, April 3, 1863, *Wartime Papers,* 427.
36. To Mary, April 22, 1862, *Wartime Papers,* 153.
37. To Richard Ewell, June 22, 1863, *Wartime Papers,* 524-25.
38. Report of General Lee, C. S. Army, March 6, 1863, *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* 128 volumes (Washington, D.C.: 1880-1901), Ser. 1, Vol. 11, Part 2, p. 497 (hereafter cited as *OR*). This report covered Mechanicsville, Gaines' Mill, Savage Station, White Oak Swamp Bridge, Frazier's Farm, Malvern Hill, and the rest of the Seven Days Campaign.
39. General Orders No. 75, July 7, 1862, *Wartime Papers,* 210.
40. To Jackson, August 12, 1862, *Wartime Papers,* 251.
41. Telegram to James A. Seddon, Secretary of War, December 13, 1862, *Wartime Papers,* 359, and To Jackson, August 12, 1862, in Jones, *Personal Reminiscences,* 155.
42. To Davis, August 30, 1862, *Wartime Papers,* 268.
43. To S. Cooper, October 18, 1862, *OR,* 19, pt. 2, p. 54.
44. To Davis, June [15], 1863, *Wartime Papers,* 515.
45. To Mary, December 25, 1862, *Wartime Papers,* 379-80.
46. To Mary, July 7, 1863, *Wartime Papers,* 542.
47. To Jefferson Davis, July 8, 1863, *Wartime Papers,* 543.
48. *Ibid.,* 544.
49. To Jeb Stuart, July 10, 1863, *OR,* Ser. 1, Vol. 27, Part 2, p. 685.
50. To Davis, July 12, 1863, *OR,* Ser. 1, Vol. 27, Part 2, p. 302.
51. Telegraph to James A. Seddon, May 6, 1864, *Wartime Papers,* 722.
52. *Ibid.,* Telegraph to James A. Seddon, May 10, 1864, p. 727.
53. *Ibid.,* To James A. Seddon, June 3, 1864, p. 764.
54. Freeman, *Lee,* 1, pp. 369-70.
55. To Mary, September 17, 1861, quoted in Lee, Jr., *Recollections,* 45.
56. To Miss Annie Lee, March 2, 1862, *Wartime Papers,* 121.
57. *Ibid.,* To Mary, [July 9], 1862, pp. 229-30.
58. *Ibid.,* To Miss Margaret Stuart, July 16, 1863, p. 561.
59. Lee, Jr., *R.E. Lee,* 116.
60. To Mary, August 28, 1864, *Wartime Papers,* 847.
61. Quoted in Lee, Jr., *Recollections,* 144.
62. General Orders, No. 1, February 9, 1865, *Wartime Papers,* 891.
63. Quoted in Johnstone, *Lee the Christian,* 149.
64. Lee, Jr., *Recollections,* 105-06.
65. Quoted in Jones, *Christ in the Camp,* 59.
66. Brown, *"And One was a Soldier,"* 49.
67. *Wartime Papers,* 224.
68. *Ibid.,* To Mary, July 12, 1863, p, 547.
69. See Richard Rollins, "Lee's Grand Strategy and Pickett's Charge," *North & South,* volume 5, #5, July 2002.
70. General Orders, No. 73, June 27, 1863, *Wartime Papers,* 533-34. Jubal Early's burning of Chambersburg in 1864 drew no written reproach from Lee, but it never happened again under Lee's authority.
71. Quoted in *Southern Historical Society Papers,* Vol. 26, pages 116-28.
72. Quoted in Lee, Jr., *Recollections and Letters,* 56.
73. Quoted in Jones, *Christ in the Camp,* 49.
74. Quoted in Emily V. Mason, ed., *Popular Life of General Robert E. Lee* (Baltimore: 1874), p. 182.
75. General Orders, No. 11, Cavalry Headquarters, June 17, 1862, *OR,* Ser. 1, Vol. 11, part 1, p. 1041 and Report of Brigadier General J.E.B. Stuart, June 17, 1862, *OR,* Ser. 1, Vol. 11, Part 1, p. 1038. Stuart's Report, June 17, 1862.
76. Don R. Steele, *In A different Manner* (Apollo, Pennsylvania.: 1993), p. 12. No doubt a thorough examination will uncover many more. I have kept this paragraph short because this topic deserves more research and examination.
77. Jones, *Christ in the Camp,* 50.
78. Quoted in Bennett, *Narrative,* 175. For additional examples of such statements, see the chapter on "Culture and Combat" in Richard M. Rollins, *"The Damned Red Flags of the Rebellion."*
79. To Miss Louisa Washington, September 16, 1861, Freeman, *Lee,* 1, p. 570.
80. To General John B. Hood, May 21, 1863, *Wartime Papers,* 490.
81. *Ibid.,* General Orders, No. 44, May 24, 1864, p. 736.
82. Lee, "To Markie," 101, in Brown, *Soldier,* 46.
83. Quoted in Jones, *Life and Letters,* 277-78.
84. To Mary, May 31, 1863, *Wartime Papers,* 499.
85. See Richard Rollins, "Understanding Lee's Audacity," *North & South,* volume 5, #1, December 2001.
86. To Mary, May 31, 1863, *Wartime Papers,* 499.
87. Quoted in Jones, *Personal Reminiscences,* 144.

DO YOU KNOW?

1. What does the term "doughface" mean?
2. The Battle of Ox Hill is better known as what?
3. This Union general reputedly hid in a pigpen to avoid capture during the Battle of Gettysburg.
4. Name of the Confederate fort at Vicksburg that was undermined and blown up.

BATTLES AND LEADERS OF THE CIVIL WAR

5. This Confederate commodore was later a rear admiral in the Peruvian navy.
6. President Lincoln issued the preliminary draft of the Emancipation Proclamation shortly after this battle.

TEASER QUESTION

This eighty-year-old Southern colonel was hired as a consultant and then played himself in the silent Civil War film.

THE ANSWERS to questions 1-6 are below. If you know the answer to the teaser question, send it to: NORTH & SOUTH, 33756 Black Mountain Road, Tollhouse, CA 93667. The author of the correct answer drawn from the *North & South* hat will win a free book prize.

WE HAVE A WINNER!

The teaser question in volume 5, #7 was "Which member of Abraham Lincoln's cabinet lost a brother at First Bull Run?" The answer is Simon Cameron, whose brother was colonel of the 79th New York Infantry Regiment. We received a flood of correct answers, and the winner (whose name was drawn from the *North & South* hat) has been sent a book prize.

DYK ANSWERS (1) A Northern Democrat who sympathized with the South; (2) The Battle of Chantilly; (3) Brigadier General Alexander Schimmelfennig; (4) Fort Hill; (5) John R. Tucker (pictured above); (6) Antietam.

THE BATTLE OF

The Battle of Mansfield—or Sabine Crossroads as it was known in the North—was the "high water mark" of the Union's Red River Campaign, an offensive that ended unsuccessfully for the North and, according to more than one historian, prolonged the war. The battle was one of the Confederacy's last major land victories.

Despite the battle's importance, Mansfield is usually ignored or given only cursory attention by historians. When examined in detail, it becomes apparent that the battle was full of intrigue, infighting, incompetence, and audacity. Further, traditionally held beliefs about the fight should be challenged given the sources currently available.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE LOUISIANA STATE MUSEUM

Major General Richard Taylor

IN MARCH 1864 the Federals launched the Red River Campaign—a combined army-navy operation in Louisiana—as part of the grand Union strategy to end the war. The offensive was economic, political, and military in nature, with the primary military objective being the capture of Shreveport, Louisiana, Confederate Headquarters of the Trans-Mississippi Theater. From there the Federals could invade Texas or support the Union effort in Arkansas.[1]

The Union land forces were commanded by Major General Nathaniel P. Banks, the epitome of a political general. Banks, born in Massachusetts in 1816, had served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, as speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and as governor of Massachusetts. By 1861 he had become a powerful figure in the Democratic Party and was appointed major general of volunteers by President Lincoln. Early in the war he served in the Eastern Theater, and defeated Confederate Major General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson at Kernstown, Virginia. Yet Banks' military skills were questionable at best, and by late 1862 he found himself transferred to the less glamorous Trans-Mississippi Theater.[2]

Banks' command consisted of elements of four infantry corps—XIII, XVI, XVII, XIX—plus a cavalry division, a total of twenty-five thousand men. However, the XVI and XVII Corps—ten thousand veteran soldiers—were on loan from the Army of the Tennessee and were expected to participate in the Atlanta Campaign. Banks had been instructed to return the borrowed detachments by mid-April.

Opposing Banks in the Red River Valley was Major General Richard Taylor, a Louisianan and the son of President Zachary Taylor. Like Banks, Taylor had served in the Eastern Theater during 1861-1862 and, despite having no formal military education, had shown an

MANSFIELD

Steve Bounds and Curtis Milbourn

ability to command. Taylor had already faced Banks in both Virginia and Louisiana and had "taken the measure of the man," finding him to be "cold, timid, easily foiled." This was in complete contrast to Taylor, who, once he determined a course of action, acted with an "unbending, uncompromising resolve."[3]

Taylor was determined to defend Louisiana, but faced a number of problems. When the campaign began he had no organized force of consequence to slow the Federal advance. Although the infantry divisions of Major General John G. Walker and Brigadier General Alfred Mouton were in western Louisiana, they were scattered and would take time to concentrate. Three divisions of cavalry under the command of Major General Thomas Green were en route from Texas, but no one could be certain when they would arrive. Additionally, a feud existed between Taylor and his immediate superior General Edmund Kirby Smith, commander of the Trans-Mississippi Theater. Taylor viewed Smith as a vacillating officer concerned with enhancing his reputation, rather than with winning the war. Their relationship was volatile.[4]

Initially the campaign went smoothly for the Federals, and by late March the invaders occupied Natchitoches, just eighty miles from Shreveport. Banks halted there to rest, reorganize, and attend to political matters in the newly occupied territory. As the Federals advanced up the Red River, Taylor became more and more agitated. "It would have been better to lose a State after a defeat than surrender it without a fight," he lamented. His officers agreed. One Louisianan wrote that "the army *wants* a fight." A Texan added, "We can't run always and give up all the country. . . . I think you will hear stirring news from these parts soon." Another Texan predicted that the Confederates would soon have enough men present to give the Federals "a genteel thrashing."[5]

Indeed, Taylor planned to give Banks "a genteel thrashing" as soon as Tom Green, his most trusted combat officer, arrived. On March 23 Taylor advised headquarters, "As soon as Green joins me I shall assume the offensive." Five days later Taylor echoed, "When Green joins me, I repeat, I shall fight a battle for Louisiana, be the forces of the enemy what they may."[6]

While Banks tarried in Natchitoches, Taylor built an army near Pleasant Hill. On March 30 Green's cavalry began to arrive, followed two days later by Walker's and Mouton's infantry. And, on March 31, Green arrived at Taylor's headquarters. Now Taylor began earnestly looking for a fight, but with the Federals concentrated at Natchitoches he could not hope to defeat them. On April 3 Taylor confided to Smith, "The problem now is how to take the offensive." He needed a mistake by Banks to give him an opportunity. On April 2, lacking sufficient supplies to maintain an army, Taylor withdrew to Mansfield, leaving Green's cavalry to watch the Federals.[7]

On April 6 the Federal army left the Red River, and the protection of the powerful navy, and plunged into a "howling wilderness" of dense pine forests and rolling hills of red clay. Their immediate destination was Mansfield, a key crossroads village. From there, the Federals would be able to march west toward Texas, east toward the Red River and the anxious navy, or take any one of three roads north to Shreveport.

However, the advancing Federals faced problems. They were forced to travel on an old stage road, barely a path, which strung the army out for miles. To complicate matters, the slow and lumbering division wagon trains followed their assigned units, rather than being concentrated at the rear of the column. Should the Confederates turn and fight, the trains could only too easily block the road and prevent rapid troop movement to the front. Banks was not concerned though—he did not expect the Confederates to make a stand south of Shreveport. Banks grossly underestimated Taylor, and as a consequence handed the Rebel general just the opportunity he needed.

At dawn on April 7 Brigadier General Albert L. Lee led three cavalry brigades in advance of the Union infantry.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Major General Nathaniel P. Banks

After passing through Pleasant Hill, Lee's horsemen were engaged for two hours at Wilson's Farm by a brigade of Brigadier General James P. Major's cavalry. Although pushed back, the Confederates made another stand, under the personal command of Green, at Carroll's Mill. Major's entire division, supported by Brigadier General Hamilton P. Bee's cavalry division, stopped the Federal advance cold.

Lee was unnerved by the unexpected Confederate resistance. He notified headquarters that he was "simply holding the ground" and requested that infantry be sent to support any further advance. At 3:00 a.m. the First Brigade, Fourth Division, XIII Corps was dispatched to the front. Accompanying the brigade was Colonel William J. Landram, Fourth Division commander. The brigade had to march eight miles and would not arrive at the front until dawn.

The aggressive Green felt certain that Lee was unsupported. He urged Taylor to send him Mouton's division, with which he promised to "see what the [Union] advance was made of." Instead, Taylor ordered Green to "retire comfortably in the morning" and choose the

ground to offer battle from one of the sites they had discussed the previous day. Taylor promised to "come down with all my infantry and deliver battle."[8]

Taylor clearly wanted a fight but Edmund Kirby Smith appeared to vacillate. On April 5 Smith had warned Taylor, "The whole fate of this department will be staked upon the issue when we meet the enemy. The battle must be decisive. . . . When we fight it must be for victory." The following day Smith visited Taylor and, according to Smith, discussed the situation in detail. Yet Taylor seemed uncertain of Smith's designs and on the evening of April 7 he wrote Smith, "I respectfully ask to know if it accords with the views of the lieutenant-general commanding that I should hazard a general engagement at this point, and request an immediate answer, that I may receive it before daylight to-morrow morning." In his official report, Taylor insisted that he notified Smith of his intention to "fight a general engagement the next day if the enemy advanced in force, unless ordered positively not to do so." On April 8, as-

GENERALS IN GRAY

Alfred Mouton

GENERALS IN GRAY

Henry Gray

GENERALS IN GRAY

Thomas Green

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

Henry Allen

DISTRICT OF WEST LOUISIANA: MAJOR GENERAL RICHARD TAYLOR

Mansfield, Louisiana, April 8, 1864

	KIA[1]	WIA	MIA
FIRST INFANTRY DIVISION: Major General John G. Walker			
Waul's Brigade: Brigadier General Thomas N. Waul			
12th Texas Infantry Regiment #	14	38	08
18th Texas Infantry Regiment *	06	52	00
22nd Texas Infantry Regiment	09	44	05
13th Texas Dismounted Cavalry Regiment	17	45	05
Haldeman's Texas Battery	00	01	01
Randal's Brigade: Colonel Horace Randal			
11th Texas Infantry Regiment *	07	22	03
14th Texas Infantry Regiment	08	42	02
28th Texas Dismounted Cavalry Regiment	19	57	02
6th Texas Dismounted Cavalry Battalion	10	17	01
Daniel's Texas Battery	08	02	00
Scurry's Brigade: Brigadier General William R. Scurry			
16th Texas Infantry Regiment	11	48	64
17th Texas Infantry Regiment	26	56	00
19th Texas Infantry Regiment	12	37	01
16th Texas Dismounted Cavalry Regiment	18	03	49
Walker's Division Total (770)	165	464	141
SECOND INFANTRY DIVISION: Brigadier General Alfred Mouton $			
Gray's Brigade: Colonel Henry Gray			
18th Louisiana Consolidated Infantry Regiment $	21	74	02
28th Louisiana Infantry Regiment $	03	04	01 x
Consolidated Crescent Infantry Regiment $	75	118	01
Polignac's Brigade: Brigadier General Camille J. Polignac			
15th Texas Infantry Regiment	02	15	01
17th Texas Dismounted Consolidated Cavalry Regiment $	26	56	00
22nd Texas Dismounted Cavalry Regiment	06	30	00
31st Texas Dismounted Cavalry Regiment	04	25	01
34th Texas Dismounted Cavalry Regiment	16	64	00
Mouton's Division Total (611)	153	386	06 x
INFANTRY TOTAL (1,381)	**318**	**850**	**147 x**

	KIA	WIA	MIA
CAVALRY CORPS: Major General Thomas Green			
BEE'S CAVALRY DIVISION: Brigadier General Hamilton P. Bee			
1st Texas Cavalry Regiment	12	50	02
26th Texas Cavalry Regiment	15	67	04
37th Texas Cavalry Regiment	05	21	12
Louisiana State Guard: Governor Henry Allen			
1st Louisiana Cavalry Battalion	UNKNOWN		
2nd Louisiana Cavalry Battalion	00	01	00
MAJOR'S CAVALRY DIVISION: Brigadier General James P. Major			
Lane's Brigade: Colonel Walter P. Lane *			
1st Texas Regiment of Partisan Rangers	05	04	00
2nd Texas Regiment of Partisan Rangers	UNKNOWN		
2nd Texas Cavalry Regiment, Arizona Brigade	03	00	00
3rd Texas Cavalry Regiment, Arizona Brigade	06	27	00
Bagby's Brigade: Colonel Arthur P. Bagby			
4th Texas Mounted Volunteers	09	35	02
5th Texas Mounted Volunteers	07	18	02
7th Texas Mounted Volunteers #	04	09	02
13th Texas Cavalry Battalion	02	09	00
Vincent's Brigade: Colonel William G. Vincent			
2nd Louisiana Cavalry Regiment	UNKNOWN		
4th Louisiana Cavalry Regiment	UNKNOWN		
Horse Artillery: Major Oliver J. Semmes			
McMahon's Texas Battery	00	02	00
Nettles's (Valverde) Battery	00	04	00
Cavalry Division Total (339)	68	247	24
Artillery Battalion: Major Joseph L. Brent			
1st Confederate Regular (Louisiana) Battery	00	00	00
1st Louisiana Battery (St. Mary's Cannoneers)	00	00	00
3rd Louisiana Battery (Bell Battery)	00	00	00
5th Louisiana Battery (Pelican Artillery)	00	00	00
6th Louisiana Battery (Grosse Tete Flying Artillery)	00	00	00
Moseley's Texas Battery	00	00	00
West's Arkansas Battery	00	00	00
INFANTRY TOTAL (1,381)	**318**	**850**	**147 x**
CAVALRY TOTAL (339)	**68**	**247**	**24**
ARTILLERY TOTAL (00)	**00**	**00**	**00**
CONFEDERATE TOTAL (1,720)	**386**	**1097**	**170**

1 Confederate casualties are for both Mansfield and Pleasant Hill.

x denotes 66 casualties added to Mouton's division total and the infantry total (from the 28th Louisiana Infantry Regiment). Research indicates they occurred but cannot be broken down.

$ denotes killed in action at Mansfield

# denotes mortally wounded at Mansfield

* denotes wounded in action at Mansfield

When a symbol follows a regiment, it denotes the commanding officer as a casualty.

View along the brow of Honeycutt Hill to the left of Nims' position. A section of the 6th Missouri Horse Artillery and the 23rd Wisconsin defended this area and were overrun by Walker's Texas Division.

Author's Collection

suming no response from Shreveport was tacit approval to fight, Taylor informed headquarters that he considered Mansfield "as favorable a point to engage him [Banks] at as any other."[9]

In reality Taylor knew he was disregarding Kirby Smith's orders. More than once on April 8 Taylor was heard to say that he was fighting with "a rope around his neck." The metaphor was clear—at the very least Taylor risked his military career by bringing on an engagement.[10]

The site chosen for battle was the Moss plantation, three miles south of Mansfield. There the Confederates could take position "in the edge of a wood, fronting an open field eight hundred yards in width by twelve hundred yards in length, through the center of which the road to Pleasant Hill passed."

Taylor positioned his troops to block the road to Shreveport. If the Federals could be induced to charge across the open fields of the plantation against the prepared Confederate position, Banks' vanguard might be destroyed. Walker was placed in command of the Confederate

ARMY OF THE GULF: MAJOR GENERAL NATHANIEL P. BANKS

Mansfield, Louisiana, April 8, 1864	*KIA*	*WIA*	*MIA*
XIII ARMY CORPS: Brigadier General Thomas E. G. Ransom *			
Staff	03	06	02
THIRD DIVISION: Brigadier General Robert A. Cameron			
First Brigade: Lieutenant Colonel Aaron Flory *			
46th Indiana	10	10	86
29th Wisconsin	14	20	40
Second Brigade: Colonel William Raynor			
24th Iowa	06	14	21
28th Iowa *@	08	41	26
56th Ohio	02	14	19
Division Total (331)	40	99	192
FOURTH DIVISION: Colonel William J. Landram			
First Brigade: Colonel Frank Emerson *@			
77th Illinois $	13	25	144
67th Indiana	07	19	17
19th Kentucky *@	06	17	228
23rd Wisconsin	09	19	41
Second Brigade: Colonel Joseph Vance $			
130th Illinois *@	06	17	253
48th Ohio *@	04	14	177
83rd Ohio	03	06	22
96th Ohio	13	19	41
Division Total (1,120)	61	136	923
Artillery: Captain Patrick White *@			
Chicago (Illinois) Mercantile Battery @	06	09	25
Indiana Light, 1st Battery	00	03	02
Artillery Total (45)	06	12	27
XIII CORPS TOTAL	**111**	**254**	**1,147**
XIX ARMY CORPS: Major General William B. Franklin *			
Staff	01	05	00
FIRST DIVISION: Brigadier General William H. Emory			
First Brigade: Brigadier General William Dwight, Jr.			
29th Maine	04	24	03
114th New York *	04	09	03
116th New York	05	17	01
153rd New York	NOT ENGAGED		
161st New York	22	36	29
Second Brigade: Brigadier General James W. McMillan			
13th Maine	02	08	06
15th Maine	01	05	10
160th New York	01	02	07
47th Pennsylvania	04	12	09
Third Brigade: Colonel Lewis Benedict			
30th Maine	02	09	44
162nd New York	03	03	14
165th New York *	09	05	69
173rd New York	00	04	01
XIX CORPS TOTAL (393)	**58**	**139**	**196**

	KIA	*WIA*	*MIA*
CAVALRY DIVISION: Brigadier General Albert L. Lee			
Staff	00	02	01
First Brigade: Colonel Thomas J. Lucas			
16th Indiana Mounted Infantry	04	19	32
2nd Louisiana Mounted Infantry	01	11	19
6th Missouri Cavalry *	03	13	03
14th New York Cavalry	05	18	19
Second Brigade: Colonel Harai Robinson *			
1st Louisiana Cavalry	04	31	14
87th Illinois Mounted Infantry	07	15	02 x
Fourth Brigade: Colonel Nathan A. M. Dudley			
2nd Illinois Cavalry	12	30	10
3rd Massachusetts Cavalry	10	50	11
6th Massachusetts Cavalry	12	31	16
2nd New Hampshire Cavalry	06	19	47
Fifth Brigade (attached as staff/escorts)			
2nd New York Cavalry (one company)	00	02	00
18th New York Cavalry (one squadron)	03	09	02
Artillery			
2nd Massachusetts Light Artillery	03	18	13
6th Missouri Horse Artillery	00	03	00
5th United States Artillery, Battery G	06	12	01
Cavalry Division Total (376)	75	281	190
XIII CORPS TOTAL	**111**	**254**	**1,147**
XIX CORPS TOTAL	**58**	**139**	**196**
CAVALRY DIVISION TOTAL	**75**	**281**	**190**
FEDERAL CASUALTIES (2,534)	**255**	**716**	**1,533**

x denotes thirty casualties added into total (from the 87th Illinois Mounted Infantry). This approximate number cannot be accounted for, but letters indicate they did occur.

$ denotes killed in action at Mansfield
* denotes wounded in action at Mansfield
@ denotes captured at Mansfield

Thomas E. G. Ransom

Robert A. Cameron

James W. McMillan

William H. Emory

ALL GENERALS IN BLUE

View along the brow of Honeycutt Hill to the right of Nims' position. Mouton's Confederates battled the 67th Indiana and the 77th Illinois in this area.

Author's Collection

right wing, Green of the left.[11] In the predawn hours of April 8 Green withdrew toward Mansfield with Major's division, while Taylor ordered his infantry to the Moss plantation. Bee remained at the front to discourage a Federal advance.

By 7:00 a.m., shortly after Landram's arrival, Lee mounted his troopers. Mansfield was ten miles distant and Colonel Thomas J. Lucas' First Cavalry Brigade led the advance, supported by two infantry regiments, the 23rd Wisconsin and the 67th Indiana.

Within a short time Lee was engaged with the Rebel horsemen. Bee had placed his three regiments in line of battle, with an interval of five hundred yards between each regiment. One line would "hold the ground as long as practicable," then retire behind the other two lines. The dense woods and the Confederates' tactics slowed the Federal advance to a crawl.[12]

The frustrating pace led Lee to order the Union infantry to assume responsibility for the advance and "drive the enemy as rapidly as possible." Lee ordered his cavalry into the woods, nearly a mile from the road, to protect the infantry's flanks and to outflank the enemy. After advancing two miles, the 77th Illinois took over the lead from the 23rd Wisconsin and the 67th Indiana, then was itself relieved by the 19th Kentucky.

By noon the Federal infantry was exhausted. The predawn march, lack of water, and the stubborn Confederate resistance had all taken their toll. Landram requested relief and Brigadier General Thomas E. G. Ransom, XIII Corps commander, dispatched the Second Brigade of his Fourth Division. Landram was convinced that the advance was reckless and that "everything was going wrong," and requested that Ransom come immediately to the front.[13]

The resistance by Bee's horseman bought time for the Confederate infantry to march to the Moss plantation. Mouton's division arrived first. Brigadier General Camille J. Polignac's brigade filed off the road to the left, marching into position using a lane that ran through the Moss property. Colonel Henry Gray's brigade formed on the Frenchman's left flank. The entire division would not be in place until early afternoon.

Walker's division followed Mouton's men onto the battlefield; the three Texas brigades filed to the right off the Old Stage road and formed in a north-south line, Brigadier General Thomas N. Waul's in the center, and Brigadier General William R. Scurry's to the south. Walker's men would not be entirely formed until about 2:00 p.m.

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

Federals posted on Honeycutt Hill would have seen Walker's men emerge from the woods in the distance and charge across the field and up the hill.

Major's dismounted cavalry guarded the Confederate left flank, and Bee's troopers were sent to the right as they arrived at the plantation. Artillery was interspersed throughout the Confederate battle line. In all, ten thousand Confederates awaited Banks' arrival.

About noon, while the Confederates were still deploying, the Federal advance "came in sight of a wide opening in the timber in front of a hill of considerable height, on ... top of which there was considerable timber, but not so thickly set as on the road over which we had advanced." The hill, known locally as Honeycutt Hill, was nearly one-half mile distant and appeared to be a strong defensive position. Movement was detected on the peak. Lee ordered the 19th Kentucky to move forward and reconnoiter the hill. Supported by the remainder of the exhausted First Brigade and a section of artillery, the Federals easily brushed aside the few Confederate troopers atop the hill and occupied the position.[14]

As the Federal infantry secured Honeycutt Hill, troopers of the 2nd New Hampshire Cavalry, guarding Landram's right flank, emerged from the woods into the open field of the Moss plantation. Seeing the Confederate horsemen from Honeycutt Hill "apparently in full retreat, passing across our front and to the right," the 2nd New Hampshire gave chase. One Union trooper recalled seeing Confederate infantry filling the road "in front, and as far as could be seen, to the right and left." Nonetheless, the Yankees continued their charge. Crossing the field, the 2nd New Hampshire came to a high "Virginia fence" adjacent to the wood line, and paused momentarily to dismantle it. Without warning they were struck by a "terrific fire" from the 18th Louisiana Consolidated Infantry Regiment, which had been deploying into line. About thirty Federals were unhorsed. While the Yankee horsemen returned fire, Confederates swarmed into the field and threatened to envelop the troopers. Forced to leave their dead, wounded, and those without horses, the 2nd New Hampshire retreated. Upon reaching safety, the troopers deployed as skirmishers and then retraced their steps to a position halfway across the field. Within minutes the regiment was involved in a brisk firefight with Rebel skirmishers. Word was sent to Brigadier General Lee that a large Confederate force was in his immediate front.[15]

While the 2nd New Hampshire engaged the enemy, Captain Ormand Nims deployed his crack 2nd Massachusetts Light Artillery on Honeycutt Hill, where he could see the open fields of the Moss plantation. Nims aimed four guns to the front while two guns covered the right. A section of the 6th Missouri Horse Battery was placed just to the left of Nims'

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Major General
John G. Walker

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, RICHMOND

Brigadier General
Thomas N. Waul

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Brigadier General
William R. Scurry

TULANE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, NEW ORLEANS

Brigadier General
Hamilton P. Bee.

artillery. The 23rd Wisconsin was sent to support the artillery on Honeycutt Hill and immediately deployed skirmishers to its front, while the 67th Indiana deployed to the right of Nims' battery, behind a belt of timber. The 77th Illinois was positioned to the right of the Hoosiers; the exhausted 19th Kentucky remained in reserve, along with the 2nd Illinois Cavalry.

Lee ordered the 3rd and 6th Massachusetts Cavalry to deploy on the left, push forward, and reconnoiter the area ahead of them. The New Englanders entered the open field and "charged until they came in sight of the main body of the enemy, massed in solid columns," their battle flags clearly visible. The Federal troopers immediately withdrew, posted pickets, and reported to General Lee that there were "large bodies of troops massing toward the right and left flanks." Lee now realized that he was in a very vulnerable position.[16]

About 12:30 p.m. Brigadier General Ransom arrived at Honeycutt Hill. A veteran of Fort Donelson, Shiloh, and Vicksburg, Ransom was an outstanding officer. He knew that the Union position on Honeycutt Hull was a strong one, and he determined to wait until the Second Brigade arrived before deciding his next move. He reconnoitered the Confederate position and discovered "two batteries and a large force of infantry in line of battle in the edge of the woods . . . and also considerable bodies of infantry moving down the road leading to our right and rear." During the scout Ransom found the Federal skirmishers firing "very briskly across the field" at the Confederates, but with no effect. He ordered the badly outnumbered skirmishers to cease firing to conserve their ammunition. Quiet descended over the plantation.[17]

At 1:00 p.m. Banks arrived on the field. Lee told the commanding general that the Federals needed either to be heavily reinforced or withdrawn immediately. Ransom added that any further advance would lead to disaster. Banks opted to reinforce the position, and ordered Brigadier General Robert A. Cameron's Third Division, XIII Corps, to the front.

Throughout the early afternoon Union observers reported the Confederates moving to the right. Although this was Mouton's division deploying into position, the Federals interpreted it as a flanking maneuver. When the Second Brigade, Fourth Division, XIII Army Corps began to arrive on the field at 1:30 p.m., Ransom positioned them to extend the Union right flank. The 130th Illinois joined with the right of the 77th Illinois, and the 48th Ohio further lengthened the Federal line. The 19th Kentucky was called from its reserve position, and the 96th Ohio formed to the right of the Kentuckians. Finally, the 83rd Ohio deployed to the right of the 96th Ohio. Ransom kept the line at the rear edge of the belt of timber and out of sight of the Confederates. He did not want to commit the infantry to a defensive position, nor expose the Federals' weakness to Richard Taylor's prying eyes. In all, about 2,400 Union infantrymen were posted on the right.

As the afternoon waned, other Federal units arrived. Lucas' First Cavalry Brigade and a squadron of the Fifth Cavalry Brigade's 18th New York were posted on the extreme Federal right flank. These troopers were mostly dismounted and deployed as skirmishers in the field and woods. When the 5th United States, Battery G, and a section of the 6th Missouri Horse Battery arrived, they were dispatched to the fence line on the Federal right, fronting the open field. By mid-afternoon Nathaniel Banks had almost 6,400 soldiers at the Moss plantation.

During the afternoon the only action was between skirmishers on the extreme Federal right flank, as both sides attempted to locate the end of their opponent's line. However, no one could be certain who was flanking who in the dense woods.

As the Federal reinforcements arrived, Banks gained confidence. In mid-afternoon he ordered Lee to advance immediately to Mansfield. Lee advised the commanding general that "we could not advance ten minutes without a general engagement, in which we should be most gloriously flogged." Lee added that he did not want to advance. This seemed to jolt Banks back to reality and he countermanded the order.

While Banks pondered his next move some Yankees marveled at the tranquility of their surroundings. One Northerner remembered "the clear blue sky" and the "green earth smiling in the sunlight" as "the infantry lay stretched on the ground, the troopers lounged lazily in their saddles, and the cannoneers sat upon their guns, enjoying the warm sunshine, while groups of officers gathered around their leaders and discussed the campaign, passing many a careless joke." Within minutes the picturesque setting would be shattered.[18]

Meanwhile the Confederates had been busy. Taylor believed that Banks was massing troops on the Union right in preparation for an attack, which was exactly what the Confederate commander wanted. About 2:30 p.m., after sending two mounted units to the Gravel Point Road to warn of any Union reinforcements approaching from the Red River,

Taylor ordered Colonel Horace Randal's brigade, Walker's division, from the right to the left of the road to support Mouton. Colonel Alexander Terrell's 37th Texas Cavalry Regiment was also shifted from the right flank to the left to fill a gap between Mouton's infantry and Major's cavalry. To mask these movements Colonel Xavier De Bray's 26th Texas Cavalry Regiment advanced into the field near the Mansfield road, while skirmishers all along the Confederate line were thrown forward.[19]

US ARMY MILITARY HISTORY INSTITUTE

Brigadier General
Albert L. Lee

ROGER D. HUNT COLLECTION

Colonel William
J. Landram

ROGER D. HUNT COLLECTION

Colonel Nathan
A.M. Dudley

When Mouton received orders to increase activity along his front, he directed his skirmishers to "drive back the enemy's skirmishers." The command was zealously carried out and before long the Rebels were halfway across the field, far from any support. Brigadier General Polignac suggested that the skirmishers be halted or reinforced and Mouton sent a message to Taylor requesting guidance.

Taylor was near the Old Stage Road, meeting with Green, when Mouton's dispatch was received. Taylor, whose patience at the Federals' inactivity was wearing thin, ordered Mouton to reinforce his skirmishers and ascertain the Federals' strength. Taylor told Green that he "was determined to see what they [Federals] were made of." Taylor well understood his impetuous subordinate and was fully aware that Green would interpret the remark as authority to attack if an opening presented itself. When the two generals parted, Green rode to the left to check the disposition of his wing and Taylor rode to the right to confer with Walker.[20]

As soon as Mouton received Taylor's response he ordered his brigade commanders to reinforce their skirmish lines. The reinforced skirmishers rolled forward, pushing the dismounted Federal cavalry back toward the belt of timber. The withdrawing Union troopers used their repeating rifles to maintain a high rate of fire, and the noise of the firefight alerted Ransom that something was up. He sent his staff forward to determine the cause of the increased firing, and word was sent back that the Rebels were advancing in force. Ransom promptly ordered his First and Second Brigades to advance through the belt of timber and take up a position behind a fence adjacent to the open field. As more and more Federals reached the fence, they began to pour a deadly fire into the Confederates.

About 3:30 p.m., as the Confederate skirmishers pushed across the field, Green was approached by Mouton, who pointed to the increased firing from the belt of timber and suggested that he be allowed to charge to save his skirmishers. Green paused to observed the scene before him. He could see movement in the belt of timber and correctly reasoned that the Federals were reinforcing their right. If the Confederates delayed in attacking, it would give the Federals time to organize a defense. If the Southerners attacked immediately, they might catch the Yankees unprepared. Green ordered Mouton to attack and ordered Major to advance his dismounted cavalry as well.[21]

The timber on the Confederate left came alive with activity, and within moments a powerful battle line emerged. Mouton, urging his men to charge the Federals "right in the face and throw them into the valley," sent Gray's Louisiana Crescent Consolidated Regiment and one battalion of the 18th Louisiana Consolidated Regiment forward in two lines. Minutes later they were followed by the 28th Louisiana, also in two lines. The other battalion of the 18th Louisiana Consolidated remained in reserve.

To Gray's right, Polignac's brigade surged forward as well. The 17th Texas Dismounted Consolidated Cavalry, the 22nd Texas Dismounted Cavalry, and the 31st Texas Dismounted Cavalry entered the field while the 34th Texas Dismounted Cavalry and the 15th Texas Infantry remained in reserve. Within minutes, however, Polignac ordered the 34th Texas forward, and sent the 15th Texas to reinforce Gray's hard-pressed Louisianans.[22]

As the Confederate infantry, "with proud and martial bearing," rolled toward the belt of timber less than one-half mile away they were joined by Major's dismounted cavalry, who marched "shoulder to shoulder with the infantry." Major exhorted his men to "engage the enemy by a charge, to fight them on all parts of the ground and give them hell!" Between Mouton and Major, 5,100 Rebels "in the form of a half circle massed in the centre" bore down on the Federal right.[23]

The Union response was immediate. Nims' battery opened fire, using both shell and cannister. The veteran artillerymen were calm; any attempt to overrun the battery would cost the Confederates dearly. Almost every shot opened huge gaps in the Confederate line, yet for every Southerner who fell, another seemed to take his place.

The crescendo of battle grew as more and more Federals made their way through the belt of timber to the fence fronting the open field. Coordinated maneuver through the woods by the Union brigades was nearly impossible, but the 130th Illinois, 48th Ohio, 19th Kentucky, 96th Ohio, 83rd Ohio, and one battalion of the 77th Illinois arrived at the fence fairly intact and began to fire into the Southerners. The men of the 83rd Ohio, which occupied the Federal right, noted the Lone Star flag and could see Confederates flanking them just two hundred yards away. Meanwhile, the other battalion of the 77th Illinois drifted to the left and lined up on the 67th Indiana, creating a gap in the Federal line. These units struggled to find their way through the woods.

The Rebels swept across the field "at a pace that seemed like an uncertain, shuffling run." They raced with the Federals to reach the fence at the edge of the belt of timber, but the Yankees arrived first. Now, for the Southerners, there was not a safe place in the open field. "Shots

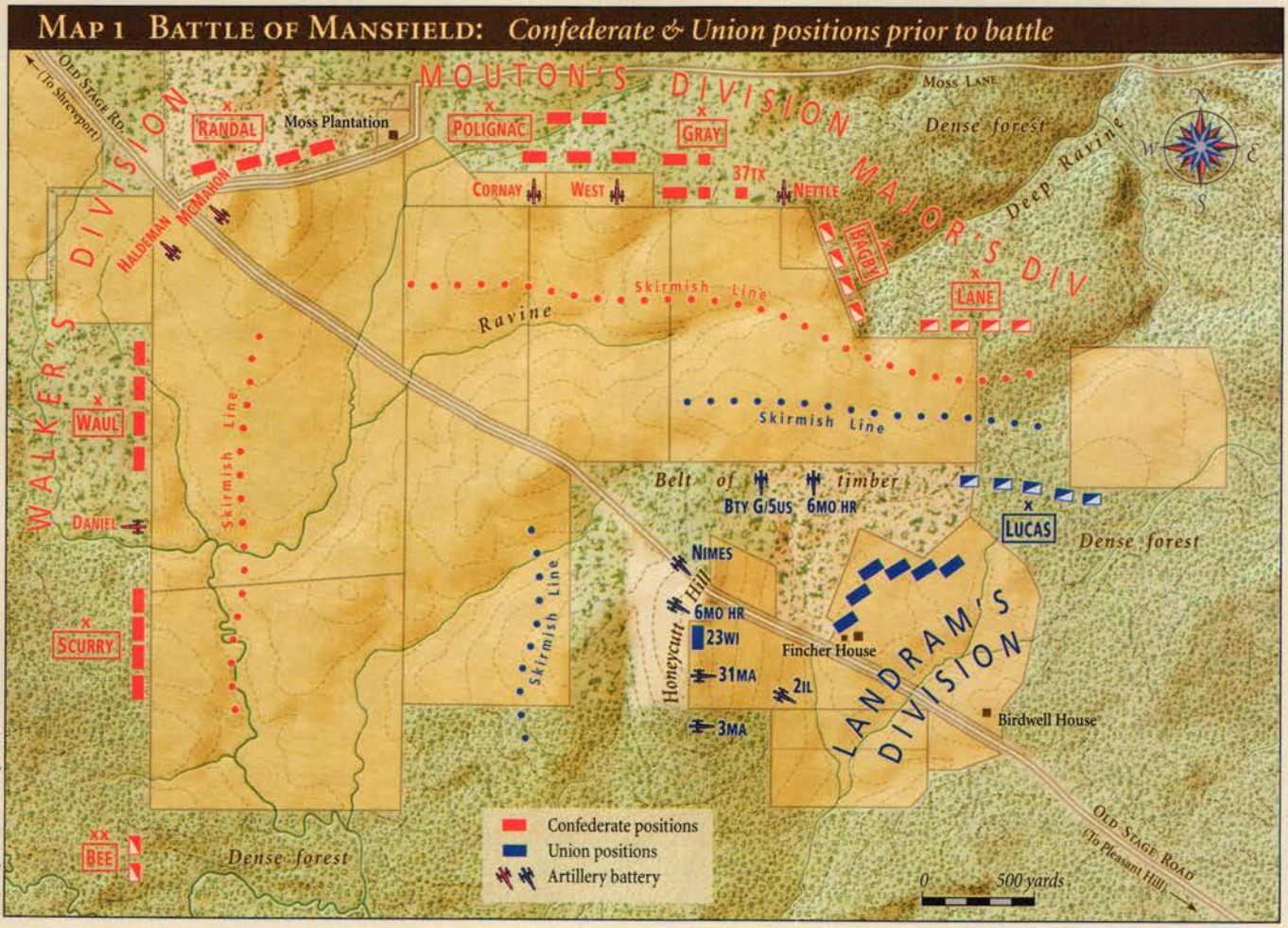
plow[ed] gaps through them, shells burst in their midst and form[ed] caverns in the mass of living men." Gray's brigade and the left of Polignac's brigade were especially hard hit.[24]

The 77th and 130th Illinois, forming the apex of the Union line, were struck first by the Rebel charge but held their ground. Some of Polignac's Texans swept past them into the woods—through the gap between the battalions of the 77th Illinois—and began to roll up the Federal line. Barely twenty minutes had elapsed since the Confederates commenced their attack.

While Polignac's right moved into the timber, his left flank and Gray's brigade continued to be butchered in the open field. One Federal volley appeared to mow down the entire Consolidated Crescent, "for all that were not killed fell to the ground to escape the next volley." The "fierce volleys" halted Gray's Louisianans, who could not advance into the "iron-sleet" pouring from the fence line. Gray's first line was thrown back upon his second and his losses mounted frightfully. Scores of officers were cut down, including all three regimental commanders. The Consolidated Crescent Regiment suffered nearly two hundred casualties and became leaderless. Mouton ordered his soldiers to ground two hundred yards from the belt of timber, then after a few minutes urged his men forward once more. The Southerners responded "like crazed demons." About forty yards from the tree line some of Gray's men again sought cover on the ground and began to fire back at the Federals, while some of the Confederates drifted to the left and right.[25]

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

Right: View from Honeycutt Hill down the Old Stage Road toward Pleasant Hill. Union troops emerged from the dense forest into open fields in the distance.



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Major's dismounted cavalry, with less distance to cover and facing lighter resistance, crossed the open field and struck the gap between the Federal infantry and cavalry. Some of Major's men turned to the right, surging directly at the flank and rear of the Union infantry, while others pushed through the belt of timber.

Mouton's advance had caught Horace Randal by surprise. Now, with the Louisianans heavily engaged, he deployed his brigade *en echelon* but found his path blocked by Polignac. Trying to clear a path for his brigade, Randal was met by an indignant officer who "insisted that they [Polignac's brigade] were able to complete the task they had begun, and objected to us [Randal's brigade] charging through their lines." Unfazed, Randal ordered his brigade to "move by the left flank" until his men cleared Mouton's division. This movement would have dire consequences for the Federals.[26]

As fighting raged in the belt of timber, two Federal batteries arrived on the field. The Chicago Mercantile Battery and the Indiana Light, 1st Battery—twelve guns in all—were positioned in the open, behind the timber. Ransom could see that his right was disintegrating, and he prepared a fallback position around the newly arrived batteries. The 83rd Ohio, the infantry regiment on the far right, was ordered to "move by the left flank to support the center." The Ohioans pointed out that they were already flanked on the right, but in compliance to orders left the line—leaving the right flank of the Federal line unprotected as Gray's Louisianans and Major's Texans bore down on the 96th Ohio.[27]

Richard Taylor had been with Walker on the right for nearly twenty minutes when heavy firing was heard on the left. Instructing Walker to ready his men for an assault, Taylor made his way to the left to observe Green's progress. The commanding general was composed—his leg was draped across his saddle and he was smoking a cigar. As Taylor watched Mouton's desperate struggle, a courier delivered a message from Edmund Kirby Smith with instructions to notify headquarters when battle was imminent. "Too late sir, the battle is won," boasted Taylor.[28]

Taylor ordered Walker to "feel the enemy in the woods . . . make him show

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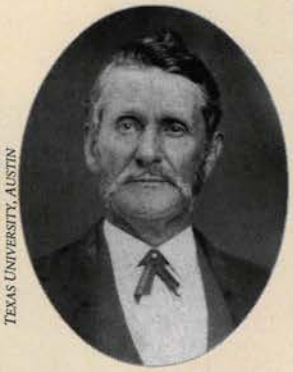
Brigadier General
Camille J. Polignac



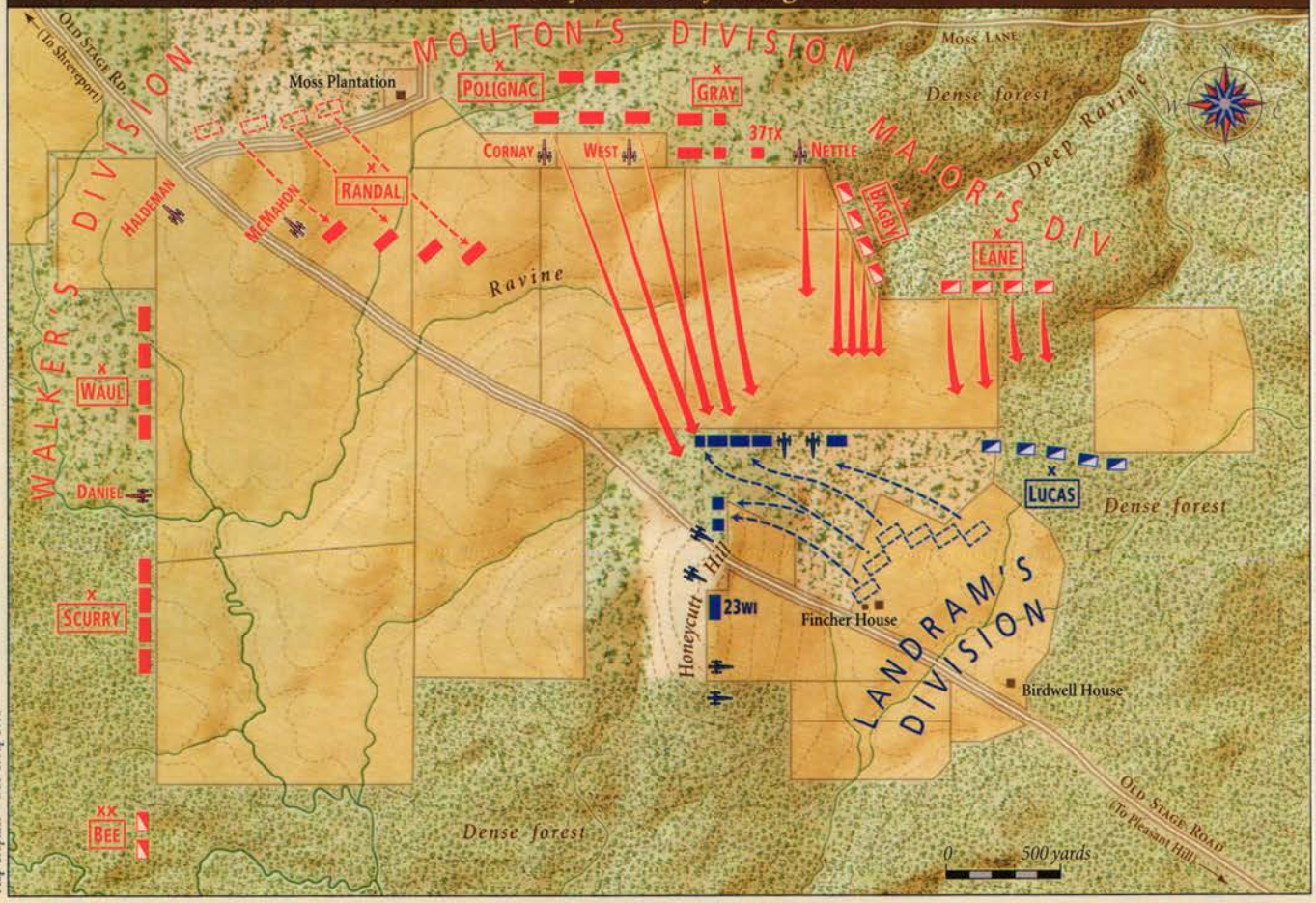
TEXAS UNIVERSITY, AUSTIN

Colonel Walter P. Lane
(postwar photograph)

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL COLLECTION, UNC

Brigadier General
James P. Major

Map 2 Battle of Mansfield: *Confederate Left Wing Assault*



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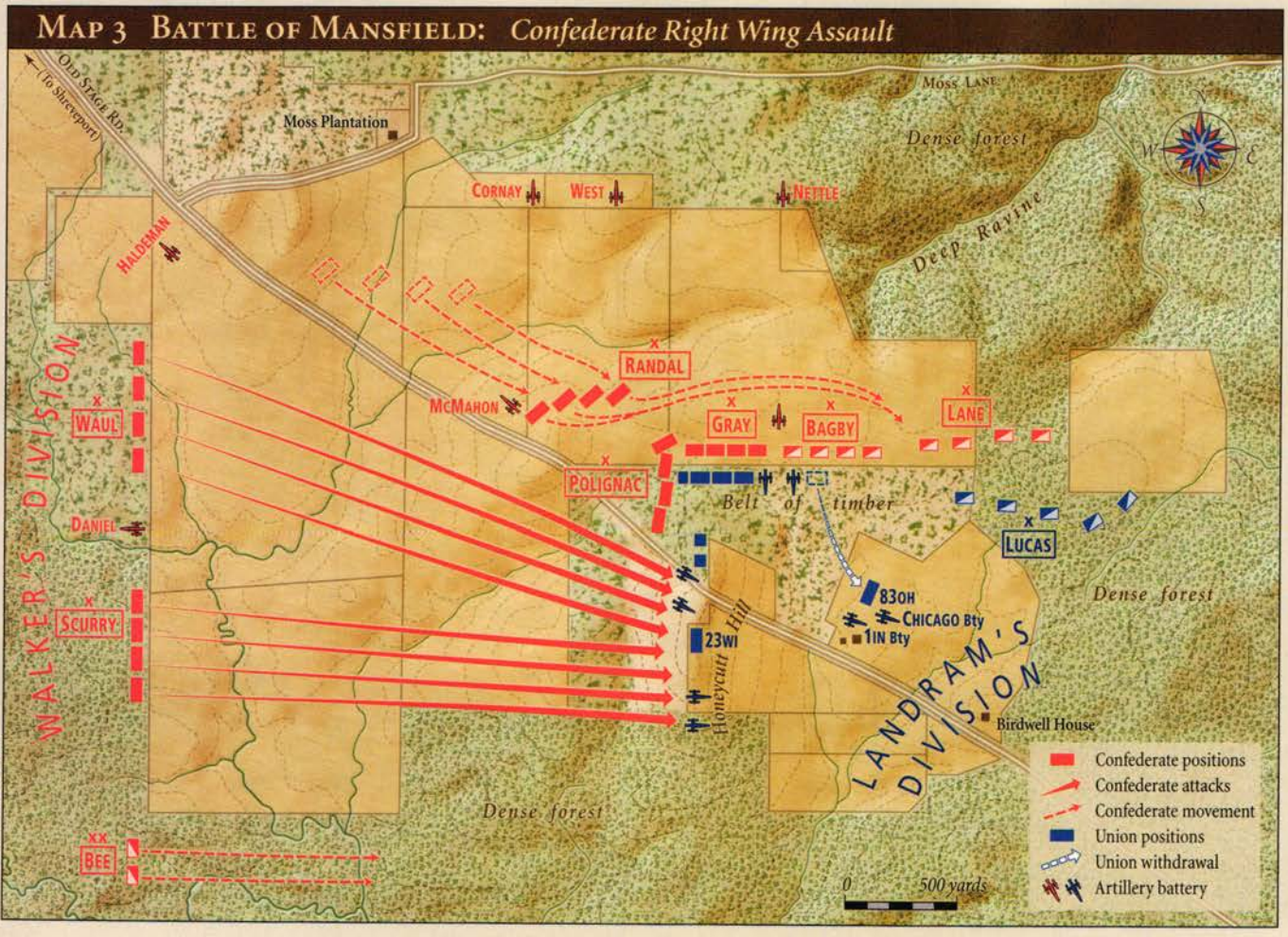
himself, and to attack." Walker, a meticulous officer who left nothing to chance, sent the brigades of Waul and Scurry forward in columns of companies. As Walker rode down the line he calmly advised, "Aim low boys and put your trust in God." Nims shifted fire and raked Waul's advancing brigade. "Shell, canister, shrapnel, and lead" tore gaps through the Texans' ranks. One of Nims' first rounds killed and wounded twelve men in one regiment. Nonetheless, Waul's men continued forward.[29]

Scurry met with less resistance and moved forward quickly. The men were inclined to oblique left, toward the Federal line, but the officers managed to keep them moving straight ahead, and part of the brigade completely flanked the Union left. The Federals fired as fast as possible but their "thin battle line … could not long withstand that impetuous charge" of the Texans. The Union left unraveled as the Massachusetts cavalry took to their mounts, and the 23rd Wisconsin "melted as in a furnace heat." With Rebels to their front, flank, and rear, one Badger recalled: "As we retired a destructive cross-fire swept through our ranks." Walker's infantry swarmed up Honeycutt Hill.[30]

With his support crumbling, Nims ordered his artillery to retire from the hill. He had lost twenty-one men and eighty-two horses and mules, but was determined to bring all his cannon off the field. As Waul's men swept over Honeycutt Hill "like a cyclone," the Federal cannoneers tried frantically to limber up their guns, but most of them were shot down. Seeing Nims' desperate situation, Major General William B. Franklin, XIX Corps commander, rode to his assistance,

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

Right: These woods were occupied by the 46th Indiana and the 29th Wisconsin of Cameron's division. Randal's brigade eventually overran the position.



but "a single volley from Walker's advancing lines" killed Franklin's horse and wounded the general and two members of his staff. Franklin was fortunate to escape as the Rebels overran three of the guns and promptly turned them on their former owners.[31]

Though the Federal left had disintegrated, fighting on the right continued. "The rebels threw their line upon our flanks, telescoping our line . . . our boys, in many instances, were entirely surrounded before they knew it," remembered one Yankee. As more and more Confederates infiltrated through, pockets of Union resistance formed, but were defeated in detail one by one. The entire Federal line began to collapse.[32]

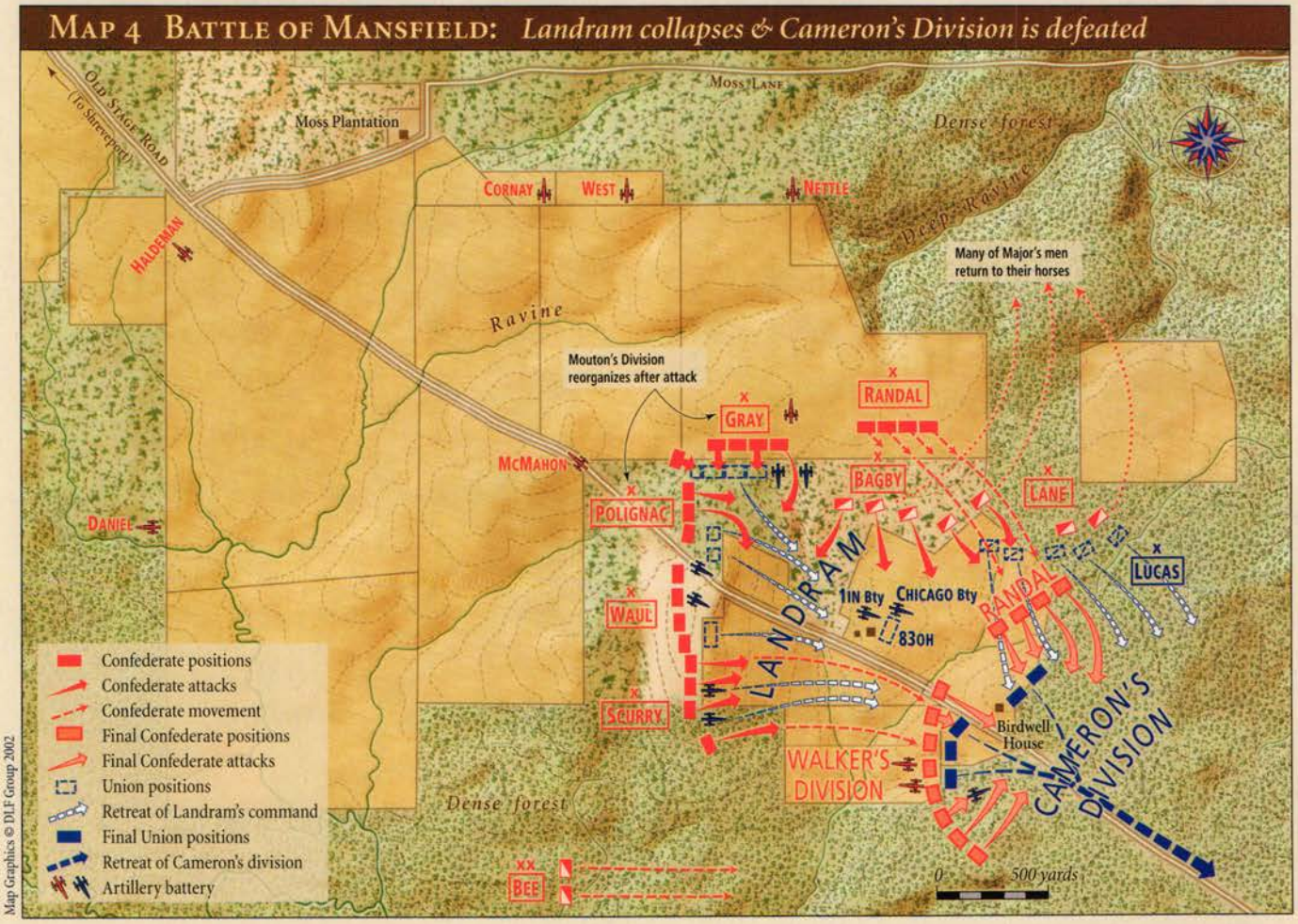
To save his command Colonel Landram "ordered the remainder of the shattered regiments to fall back, which they attempted, but were unable to accomplish with entire success." In the chaos, some of the regiments never received the order.[33]

The 130th Illinois, one battalion of the 77th Illinois, and the 48th Ohio attempted to hold their ground but were surrounded and forced to surrender. Their loss created another breach in the Federal line. The second battalion of the 77th Illinois found itself nearly surrounded. "What men were able to get out of the tangle, fell back," recalled one Illini. The 67th Indiana had been nearly driven out of the woods but was making a shaky stand. When the 77th Illinois gave way the Hoosiers found themselves outflanked on the right and retreated as well.[34]

The 19th Kentucky began to withdraw, but a large contingent of the unit

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

Left: From the rear of Honeycutt Hill toward the Fincher house (rooftop in the distance). Just over the rise two Federal batteries and the 83rd Ohio attempted to slow the Confederate advance but failed.



Major General
William B. Franklin

Colonel
William Raynor

Colonel
Lewis Benedict

was cut off and forced to capitulate. With Rebels bearing down on its undefended right flank, the 96th Ohio managed to escape from the belt of timber, though not before it was struck in the rear by a Rebel volley. The regiment managed to about face and fire a final volley before leaving the field.

It was all too much for the Fourth Division. Many of the men had been marching and fighting since sunrise, and now they were "dropping by the hundreds...bleeding and exhausted."[35] These Vicksburg veterans began to rout:

> Over the field and into the dense and tangled thicket the routed troops fled in disordered masses, followed by the exultant foe, yelling like demons and pouring volley after volley into the fugitive ranks. The effort to arrest or drive back the panic-stricken crowd was like flinging straws at a hurricane.[36]

Nearly one half of the Fourth Division, over one thousand men, had become casualties.

While the Federals fled in disorder, Mouton attempted to reorganize his men in the belt of timber. On his horse the general made an easy target and he was struck simultaneously by five bullets—perhaps from the parting volley of the 96th Ohio. Mouton was killed instantly and Polignac assumed command of the division. The first phase of the battle drew to a close with the Confederates occupying the belt of timber and Honeycutt Hill.

The second phase of the battle was brief. The 83rd Ohio tried to form near the Chicago Mercantile and the 1st Indiana batteries, but disordered Union troops were everywhere. Captain Patrick White, chief of artillery, XIII Corps, ordered his men "to double shot the guns, but they could not fire until the disorganized regiments got from our front." Once a line of fire was cleared, the two batteries became hotly engaged with the Confederates of McMahon's Texas Battery, who had pushed forward during the advance and Nims' captured guns. The Confederate artillery began to pound the guns of the Union batteries.

Seeing the hopelessness of the situation, Ransom ordered the Union artillery withdrawn. A moment later, a single shot glanced off White's shoulder and struck Ransom in the leg, seriously wounding the general, who had to be carried off the field. White saw that one section of the Chicago Mercantile Battery had failed to pull back and, despite his wound, made his way to the guns. Finding many of the crew and several horses killed and wounded, he personally assisted in withdrawing the guns toward the rear where they again went into action. At least one of the Chicago Mercantile's guns was captured.[37]

The 83rd Ohio, the last organized Federal unit near the belt of timber, found itself under fire and nearly surrounded. What was left of the unit raced to the rear, ending the second phase of the battle. The XIII Corps' Fourth Division was finished as a fighting force.

While Landram's men were fighting for survival, the Third Division, XIII Corps, was marching rapidly toward the front with five regiments—about 1,250 men. The closer the division came to the battlefield the more difficult it was to advance. The cavalry's wagon train blocked much of the road, which was "full of teams and stragglers on foot and on horseback." Brigadier General Robert A. Cameron therefore moved off the road, deploying his First Brigade to the right and the Second to the left.[38]

Now pushing forward more rapidly, Cameron reached the edge of the open field. What he saw stunned him. One-quarter of a mile in front of him, the 1st Indiana and the Chicago Mercantile Batteries were hotly engaged with the Confederates, and blue-clad infantry were everywhere, fleeing for their lives. It was a scene of utter chaos.

As Cameron's First Brigade advanced through the dense woods they met panicked refugees from the Fourth Division, and advancing groups of Confederates. Easily brushing the Rebels aside, the First Brigade reached the edge of the open field and saw masses of Confederates swarming in the valley before them. Opening fire, the brigade cleared the Rebels from their front, and minutes later repulsed a feeble Confederate attack.

To the left of the road, the Second Brigade pressed forward into the field to "take advantage of a slight elevation"and began to fire into the Confederates in their front. However, without help Cameron's command would not be able to back the hold Confederates for long.[39]

While the Third Division made its stand, the Confederates had not been idle. McMahon's artillery and Nims' captured guns continued to rake Cameron's line and White's cannon. On the Confederate right Walker was preparing his wing for another advance, while on the left Green and Polignac untangled the remains of Mouton's and Major's divisions from the woods.

The third phase of the battle opened as Walker began to move around the Third Division's left flank. Cameron responded by sending the 24th Iowa and Colonel Harai Robinson's Third Cavalry Brigade to strengthen his left. To the right of the road, the 46th Indiana and the 29th Wisconsin continued to fire from inside the tree line. A heavy column of Confederate infantry was seen advancing obliquely across the field, moving to flank the First Brigade. This was Randal's brigade, which had marched down the Confederate left and through the belt of timber. Once Randal determined the position of Cameron's right flank, he moved to attack.

Already engaged with the enemy for an hour, the men of the First Brigade were low on ammunition and in no shape to withstand Randal's assault. The 46th Indiana pulled out of line, withdrew one hundred yards to the rear, and changed fronts to meet the growing threat to the right flank. The unit took up position just in time to be overwhelmed by

Randal's charge, and was forced back to the road. The 29th Wisconsin, nearly surrounded, fell back to form a new line with the Hoosiers.[40]

West of the road, things were going no better for the Federals. The 28th Iowa and 56th Ohio, posted in the open field, were exposed to a "galling fire." The Confederate artillery kept up pressure in front, while Walker's soldiers worked their way around the Federal left flank. The Second Brigade knew it would be suicide to remain where they were and began to pull back.[41]

At that moment, "a heavy body of the enemy, moving down the road . . . in two lines" struck the center of the Third Division. These were probably elements of Walker's division. Cameron's entire command was caught in a deadly crossfire and the Second Brigade dissolved. Walker's men advanced into the void left by the Second Brigade and began to fire into the rear of the First Brigade, which also disintegrated.[42]

Occupying the road for miles was a train of nearly three hundred wagons belonging to Lee's cavalry division. While the XIII Corps was being decimated, the train's teamsters managed to get a number of wagons turned around on the narrow road. Those wagons that had not fled served to block the retreat of the infantry, cavalry, and artillerymen, who were all desperately attempting to escape. What happened next was described by a Northern reporter: "Suddenly there was a rush, a shout, the crashing of trees, the breaking down of rails, the rush and scamper of men. It was as sudden as a thunderbolt. . . . [W]e found ourselves swallowed up, as it were, in a hissing, seething, bubbling whirlpool of agitated men." By the time the third phase of the battle had come to an end, three hundred and eighteen men of the Third Division, one-quarter of its strength, had become casualties.[43]

In the brief lull which ensued, Taylor located Green. After exchanging pleasantries, Green attempted to apologize. "General, I took great responsibility in ordering the attack of the enemy." He began to explain his reasoning when Taylor interrupted him. "No sir. You took no responsibility at all. You did as I intended you should have done." Taylor urged Green to continue the pursuit and inflict as much damage on the enemy as possible.[44]

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

The Allen house is an original wartime structure. It was used as a hospital during the battle, and exhausted Confederate infantry slept on the surrounding ground afterwards. Note the crane in the background; it is a vivid reminder of the lignite mining operations that threaten portions of the battlefield.

The Federals were not completely whipped yet. While Cameron's division was being mauled, Franklin sent word to Brigadier General William H. Emory to form his First Division, XIX Corps—5,500 strong—"across the road in the first good position that he could find." Emory had been marching toward the front, but was slowed by refugees. "The road was blocked by wagons, crowded with cavalry, teamsters and negroes," remembered an officer of the XIX Corps, "and all were wild with excitement. . .the several commands preserved their order better at Bull Run."[45]

Emory decided to occupy Pleasant Grove, a small clearing on a slight elevation traversed by the Old Stage road. The position overlooked a bayou, the only water source within several miles. As Emory began to deploy his command, he could already hear the Confederates making their way toward his position.[46]

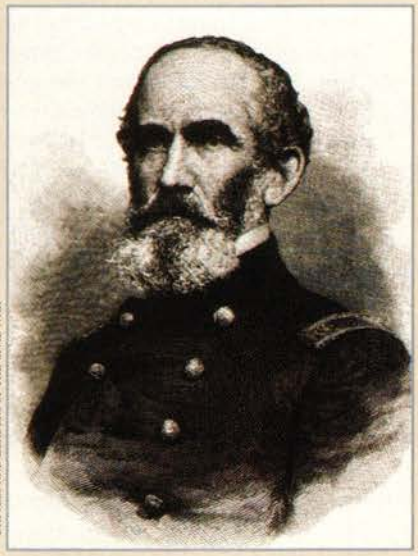
Unsure whether he had time to deploy his entire division, Emory decided to sacrifice the 161st New York to buy time. The New Yorkers were thrown forward, advancing "with fixed bayonets to prevent being ridden down by the retreating cavalry." Emory then deployed his First Brigade across the road and to the right while the Third Brigade formed to the left. The Second Brigade was held in reserve.

Helping Emory buy time were over one hundred fifty abandoned Federal supply wagons and ambulances. Many Confederates, having done without luxuries and abundant supplies for so long, stopped to pillage the wagons. Mess chests, clothing, greenbacks, and other items were taken from the wagons. This looting further slowed the Rebels' pursuit.[47]

The Confederates were badly disorganized and with the sun nearly set there was barely time for a last concerted attack. Units were mixed, men were exhausted, and ammunition was low. South of the road, the steady hand of Walker was apparent, but he had little time to organize units in preparation for an assault. North of the road the energetic Green threw together whatever men he could find in hopes of overwhelming Emory. An assault had scant chance of success, but the Confederates nevertheless pressed forward.

For fifteen minutes the 161st New York fought the Confederates off before being driven back to the main line. At a cost of 87 casualties, the regiment had bought just enough time for Emory to complete his deployment.

Assuming Emory's line to be just another small detail attempting to make a last stand, a "long line of rebel infantry came out in full view, directly in front [of Pleasant Grove]. The over-confident and undaunted" Confederates "advanced exultingly forward," the point of their assault aimed at the 29th Maine, occupy-



BATTLES AND LEADERS OF THE CIVIL WAR

Major General Andrew J. Smith

ing the center of Emory's line. If this unit was broken, the Union line would be breached and the position would become indefensible.

The steady Federals "opened a fierce fire at point blank range." "Volley after volley resounded from the hill" as the Confederates sought protection on the ground. Again and again they tried to move forward but the air "seemed dark and hot with balls, and on every side was heard the dull, crushing sound, as they struck the swaying mass, tearing through flesh, and bone, and sinew. . . . Within a few short moments, many a gallant" Southerner lay dead or wounded as the attack was easily repulsed.[48]

The Rebels regrouped. Green pushed his exhausted men around the Union right in an attempt to flank the Federals, but Emory rushed the Second Brigade into the line to refuse the right, and the Confederates were repulsed once more.

On the Federal left, Walker's men began to work their way around the Third Brigade. It was "too dark to distinguish friend from foe, but at a short distance," and Walker failed to outflank Emory. His attack struck the strongly positioned Federals, and the fire from Pleasant Grove looked "like one sheet of flame from end to end." After a frantic clash, the Confederates were driven back. One Confederate officer bitterly complained that "much of the prestige of success gained that day, was lost in the blood of the fearless, undistinguished heroes, who fell in this deadly night engagement."[49]

The desperate fight at Pleasant Grove, phase four of the battle, lasted less than one-half hour and signaled the end of the day's fighting. Emory had suffered 58 killed, 139 wounded, and 196 missing but had checked the Confederate pursuit. However, the Southerners had gained control of the bayou. During the night, the Army of the Gulf—thirsty, exhausted, demoralized, and disorganized—retreated nearly twenty miles to Pleasant Hill.

For the Federals, Mansfield was a crushing defeat. The Moss plantation marked the farthest advance of the southern Union pincer during the Red River Campaign. After April 8, the Confederates assumed the tactical initiative and eventually recovered western Louisiana all the way to the Atchafalaya River. For the remainder of the campaign, Federal movements in the Red River Valley were to the rear.

The war's strategic situation was also affected by the battle. Following the defeat, Banks refused to release Major General Andrew J. Smith's 10,000 veterans for operations in Georgia. Further, Banks' failure to capture Shreveport postponed any Federal attempt to establish a presence in Texas or capture the important port city of Mobile, Alabama. With no action forthcoming against Mobile, the Confederates were able to reinforce Joe Johnston in Georgia. These reinforcements, combined with the absence of Smith's Federals, dramatically changed the balance of forces in the Atlanta Campaign and may have prolonged the war for weeks, or even months.

The human loss to the Federals was severe. Of over twelve thousand Federals engaged, 257 were killed, 714 wounded, and 1,541 missing—a casualty rate of over twenty percent. The XIII Corps was decimated, losing nearly forty-five percent of its manpower. Additionally, the corps' commander was seriously wounded, and two brigade commanders and the chief of artillery were captured. The unit would never again be a viable fighting force.

Union material losses were nearly as devastating. Thousands of modern small arms, twenty pieces of artillery, at least 186 supply wagons and ambulances, and one thousand horses and mules were lost to the Confederates. In addition, several thousand pounds of ammunition and food fell into Southern hands. The supplies and equipment would aid the Confederate Quartermaster's Department in the Trans-Mississippi Theatre for weeks.[50]

The victory did not come without a price for the Confederates. A frontal assault during the Civil War was often deadly, and the Confederate charge at Mansfield was no exception. One source from Mouton's division reported that the unit lost 587 of 3,000 men, and Gray's brigade and two of Polignac's regiments lost over five hundred men. The division's officers also suffered heavily: the commanding general, four colonels, two lieutenant colonels, and one major were killed, and at least twenty company commanders killed or wounded. As a fighting unit Mouton's division was wrecked in the battle's first phase, rendering it practically useless the remainder of the day and the following day at the Battle of Pleasant Hill.

An exact figure for Walker's casualties is not available, although three hundred of the approximately 3,500 soldiers engaged at Mansfield is probably close. This represents a casualty rate of eight percent, relatively light in comparison to Mouton's losses.

Taylor stated that about "three thousand horse" were present at the battle. Again, no reliable casualty figures are available, but losses similar to Walker's can be assumed—approximately 250 men. Although Taylor admitted to 1,000 casualties, the Confederates probably lost closer to 1,200 men in the battle.

But Richard Taylor and his army had repulsed the Union advance in western Louisiana, dealt the Federals a stunning blow, and seized the initiative. The battle also put the Confederates in a position to capture or destroy the remainder of Banks' army and the Federal navy struggling to descend the Red River. Although these were trophies that eluded Taylor's grasp, the Battle of Mansfield was beyond doubt a major Confederate victory, the repercussions of which wer felt throughout the 1864 campaign in the West. □

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CURTIS MILBOURN is a police lieutenant in San Angelo, Texas, and part time instructor at Angelo State University. He is currently working on a biography of Tom Green.

NOTES:

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16. James K. Ewer, *The Third Massachusetts Cavalry in the War for the Union* (Maplewood, MA: 1903), p. 145.
17. Warner, *Generals in Blue*, 389-390; *OR*, 34/1: p. 265; Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events With Documents, Narratives, Illustrative Incidents, Poetry, Etc.*, Volume 8 (New York: 1871), 558.
18. Moore, 561.
19. Federal reinforcements from the direction of the Red River was a genuine concern for Taylor. Elements of the XVII Corps remained with the Federal fleet as it sailed toward Shreveport.
20. Green, 131.
21. Ibid., 131; John A. Green, Tom Green's brother and an officer on Green's staff, would have been privy to much of what occurred at Mansfield on April 8. In his official report and memoir, Taylor takes responsibility for ordering Mouton to attack, an assertion traditionally accepted by students of the battle. E. K. Smith, knowing that Taylor violated the spirit of his orders, blamed the "unauthorized" assault on Mouton. Given the personalities of the officers involved, the fact that Green was commanding the Left Wing of Taylor's army, and that Taylor was on the right when the attack began, it is not only reasonable, but probable, that Green, having already received implied orders from Taylor to attack, actually ordered the assault to commence.
22. Cantzon Journal, MSHS Files; Joshua L. Halbert to wife, April 13, 1864, MSHS Files.
23. J.T. Woods, *Services of the Ninety-Sixth Ohio Volunteers* (Toledo, OH: 1874), p. 59; Moore, 553; April 8, 1864, W. Randolph Howell Diary, Howell (W. Randolph) Papers, The Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin, Texas; Rebecca W. Smith and Marion Mullins, eds., "The Diary of H. C. Medford, Confederate Soldier, 1864," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Volume 34 (January 1931): pp. 217-18.
24. Moore, 547.
25. Woods, 60.
26. Extensive research by Steve Bounds solved the mystery of what occurred to Randal's brigade during the battle. Biography and diaries of Lieutenant Colonel Robert S. Gould, 6th Texas Dismounted Cavalry Battalion, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin TX, 64; Horace Randal Letter, April 11, 1864, Center for American History; Members of Company B of the 26th Texas Cavalry, "Incidents of Banks' Campaign: Mansfield and Pleasant Hill", 4, Library of the University of Texas Archives; Norman C. Delaney, ed., "The Diary and Memoirs of Marshall Samuel Pierson, Company C, 17th Reg., Texas Cavalry, 1862-1865" *Military History of the Southwest* (1975), pp. 34-35.
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37. Patrick White Diary, MSHS Files; McDow Letter, MSHS Files.
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48. Harris H. Beecher, *Record of the 114th Regiment, N.Y.S.V.: Where It Went, What It Saw, And What It Did* (Norwich: 1866), p. 412; T. R. Bonner, "Sketches of the Campaign of 1864," *Land We Love*, Volume 6 (October 1930): p. 216.
49. Bonner, 216.
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Maryland

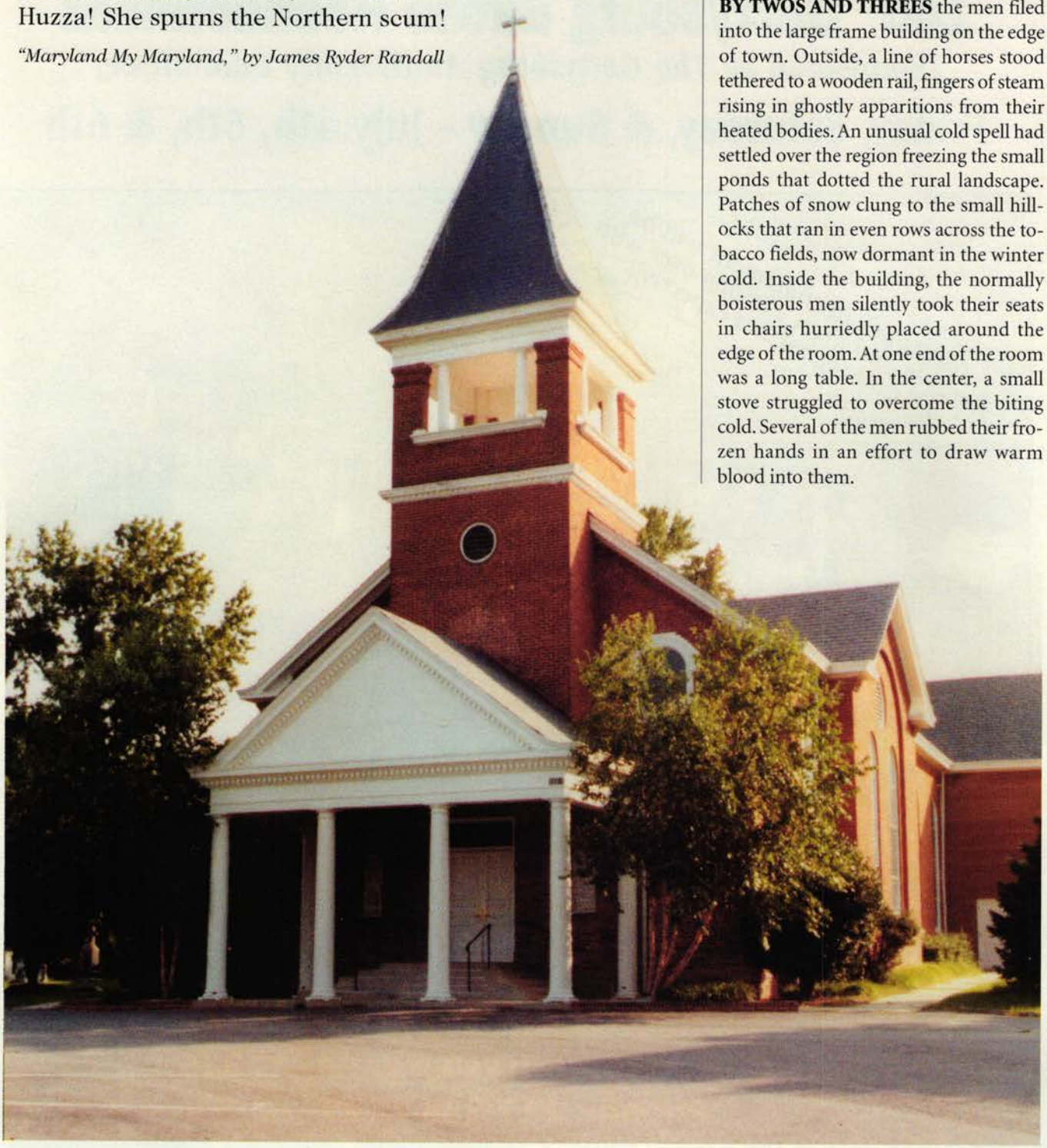
CHARLES COUNTY

EDWARD STEERS, JR.

She is not dead, nor deaf, nor dumb—
Huzza! She spurns the Northern scum!

"Maryland My Maryland," by James Ryder Randall

BY TWOS AND THREES the men filed into the large frame building on the edge of town. Outside, a line of horses stood tethered to a wooden rail, fingers of steam rising in ghostly apparitions from their heated bodies. An unusual cold spell had settled over the region freezing the small ponds that dotted the rural landscape. Patches of snow clung to the small hillocks that ran in even rows across the tobacco fields, now dormant in the winter cold. Inside the building, the normally boisterous men silently took their seats in chairs hurriedly placed around the edge of the room. At one end of the room was a long table. In the center, a small stove struggled to overcome the biting cold. Several of the men rubbed their frozen hands in an effort to draw warm blood into them.



PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR

St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church near Bryantown. John Wilkes Booth was introduced to Dr. Mudd here on Sunday, November 13,1864.

My Maryland

AND THE WAR OF NORTHERN AGGRESSION

Seated at the table in the front of the room was a burly man dressed in a heavy canvass coat pulled tight around his neck. He wore a broad moustache that filled the lower part of his face, hiding his mouth except when he spoke. The warm moisture of his breath had formed shiny crystals of ice that still covered the black hair beneath his nose. He sat motionless save for the fingers of his right hand that lightly tapped against the wooden table. The other men stared back at him, waiting for him to speak. Satisfied that only like-minded men were present, the man removed a piece of paper from his breast pocket and without looking at it began to speak. Referring to the events of the past four weeks, he told his listeners the time had come to act—to let others know they would not allow their community to be taken over by radical influences. The country had been plunged into crisis. A crisis that was becoming more ominous with each passing day.

The burly man said there was a person in their community who had sewn discord, and whose continued presence had become intolerable. Wiping his broad moustache to one side and then the other, he looked down at the piece of paper he had taken from his pocket and began reading the words he had carefully crafted earlier in the day:

> Believing that the propagation of the "Irrepressible conflict" doctrine in our midst is prejudicial alike to our interests, hostile and fatal in its consequences to our institutions and disgraceful to our honor as a community, therefore, be it Resolved, that we deeply censure the conduct of those men in our midst, who, at the recent election for President and Vice President of the United States cast their votes for Lincoln and Hamlin.

He paused, noting the approving nods of the men as they listened to his words. Continuing on, he tempered his censure by offering a token of forgiveness to their wayward neighbors—with one exception:

> Although we greatly regret that several of our native fellow-countrymen have been betrayed into such an expression of sentiment as renders them justly liable to our indignation, nevertheless, as an earnest expression of our moderation, we are willing to overlook their indiscretions for the present, with brighter hopes and expectations from them in the future, and that while we are disposed to act leniently and act gently with our fellow-countrymen, we are determined to remove from our midst *Nathan Burnham*, whose longer presence among us is most highly objectionable. His own vote for Lincoln and the influence which he has exercised point to him as a Black Republican Emissary, and renders his continued presence intolerable.[1]

Nathan Burnham's crime, it seems, was urging his neighbors to vote for Abraham Lincoln.[2] It was a bad mistake. The election was serious business, and men like Burnham had stepped over the line. The exercise of his constitutional right sealed his fate in this strongly pro-secession community. Banishment would be his penalty. The men agreed to appoint a committee to visit Burnham within the week and inform him that he had until the first of January to leave the county. Should he refuse, he was to be forcibly expelled "*vi et armis*"—by the force of arms.

Burnham's fate was predictable, considering the political and cultural attitude of his neighbors. Charles County, Maryland, like its adjoining sister counties, was fiercely Southern in its culture and politics. It was an area committed to slavery and its economic benefits. Abraham Lincoln was anathema, a threat to the culture and economy of the region. If the voters of Charles County could not remove Lincoln from their life, they could at the very least remove those who supported him.

* * *

Charles County is part of a region made up of six counties collectively known as *Southern Maryland*. Five of these counties—Prince George's, Calvert, St. Mary's, Charles, and Anne Arundel—lay to the south and east of the District of Columbia. They form a large peninsula bounded on the west and south by the Potomac River and on the east by the Chesapeake Bay. The entire western border, consisting of seventy-five miles of shoreline, rests opposite the state of Virginia, and is separated from it by the Potomac River. At its narrowest point, less than two miles of river separated the two shores. For the Confederacy, the county was an inviting gateway to Washington and the North.

Charles County traces its founding to the first decades of English settlement in the New World. In 1632, twenty-five years after the founding of Jamestown, George Calvert, the First Lord Baltimore and a devote Roman Catholic, received a grant from Charles I (1625-1649) encompassing the present states of Maryland

THIS IS THE FIRST OF TWO ARTICLES looking at border state counties, and the social dynamics therein. In this case, the focus is on Charles County, Maryland, a county in a state which did not secede, yet in which the majority of the white inhabitants were pro-secession. A later article will look at a county in western Virginia—a county in a state which seceded, but in which the majority of the inhabitants remained loyal to the Union.

—*ed.*

and Delaware. In 1634, his son Cecelius Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore, headed an expedition to the New World, landing in present-day St. Mary's County and founding the colony of "Mary Land." It was Cecelius Calvert's hope to establish a colony in the New World where Catholics and Protestants would be free to practice their religious beliefs without persecution.

Cecelius's hope was realized in 1642 when Catholic missionaries made their way up the Potomeack River to the Indian village Portobacco (present-day Port Tobacco) where they established a mission and began baptizing the local natives. The Jesuit mission at Portobacco lasted only two years, however, destroyed by the English Reformists who came to power in 1644. But the Catholic presence was firmly established, and remained despite Reformists efforts to destroy it.

White settlers had taken over the fertile land of what would soon become Charles County and pushed the Indians west. In 1658, Charles County was officially established and its present–day boundaries set a year later by the Maryland General Assembly. The new county was named in honor of Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore. The next two hundred years saw the development of a thriving maritime community, heavily invested in the growth and export of tobacco to England.

The ideal weather and soil conditions of southern Maryland made tobacco an instant success for the new colonists. Never suffering the hardships visited on Jamestown and the New England colonies, the planters of Charles County prospered through tobacco. So lucrative was the trade with England that plantation owners established residences in London to facilitate their sales, cutting out the middleman in the process.

By the outbreak of the Civil War, the Border States of Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland accounted for half of the nation's production of tobacco, and of that half, Maryland outproduced Missouri and Kentucky combined. Of the six counties comprising Southern Maryland, Charles County was the leading producer of tobacco at the time.

Tobacco was a way of life that required many hands and long hours of hard work. In the earliest days of the county labor was scarce and the demand high. An acre of rich soil could nourish 4,000 tobacco seedlings, each seedling requiring a "molehill." Weeding, deworming, removing suckers, and harvesting leaf by leaf could only be by human hands. A single field slave could plant one and a half acres a day, or 6,000 seedlings. A three hundred-acre farm, the average in the county in the nineteenth century, required ten slaves working twenty days to plant. By the end of the growing season, 1,000 pounds of tobacco could be brought to market for each slave who worked the fields. Slave labor was crucial to the economy of the region.

Low at first, the number of slaves in the county grew logarithmically. In 1710 the slave population of the county numbered a scant 638, accounting for nineteen percent of the population. By 1790, the slave population had reached over 10,000, accounting for fifty percent of the population, and by 1860 blacks accounted for almost two-thirds of the population.

The institution of slavery, so necessary to the profitable production of tobacco, wed Charles County to her southern brethren both culturally and politically. So important was slavery that even the religious leaders of the region sanctioned it as a blessing reflective of God's will, citing the apostle Paul's first epistle to Timothy as proof: "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed."[3] The ungodly Abraham Lincoln and his agent Nathan Burnham were considered enemies of that institution and everything it stood for. While Nathan Burnham was forced to leave Charles County and take up residence in the safety of the District of Columbia, Abraham Lincoln would become a force for change the likes of which the local citizens had never thought possible. The change would ultimately lead to the loss of Charles County's number one investment, leading some of her citizens to welcome John Wilkes Booth and his plot against Lincoln with open arms.

The four months between Lincoln's election and his inauguration witnessed considerable unrest among Charles County residents. The *Port Tobacco Times*

MARYLAND ON THE EVE OF WAR

On April 17, 1861, the Virginia legislature passed an ordinance of secession taking Virginia out of the Union and into the Confederacy. Two days later the 6th Massachusetts Volunteers passed through Baltimore, only to be confronted by a hostile crowd determined to block their attempt to reach the nation's capital. Shots were exchanged and when the day ended four soldiers and twelve civilians lay dead. By week's end, Brigadier General Benjamin Franklin Butler, commanding the 8th Massachusetts Volunteers, occupied the state capital at Annapolis and secured the rail lines leading into Washington.

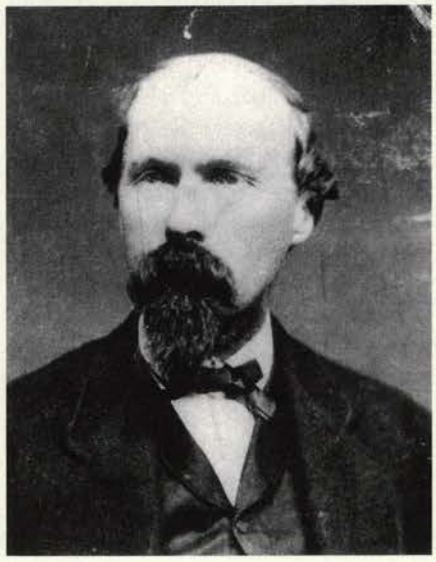
On April 24 Governor Thomas H. Hicks called the state legislature into special session, but wisely moved the venue from Annapolis to Frederick to avoid confrontation between pro-Confederate members of the legislature and Butler's troops. Meeting in Frederick, the legislature debated the fate of the state for three weeks before issuing a series of statements that feigned neutrality and accomplished little. The legislature declared the war unconstitutional and called on the people of Maryland to work for peace while proclaiming the state would not participate in the hostilities. It went on to ask for recognition of the Confederacy and protested the stationing of Federal troops within the state. It failed, however, to call for a state convention to vote on secession and refused to organize the state militia. Ignoring the legislature, the citizens of eastern Maryland took matters into their own hands, organizing companies of "defenders" in several counties.

The legislature's delay in calling for a secession convention allowed Federal troops to occupy key sites within the state, thereby killing any hope of Maryland "going South." The state would remain in the Union, even if many of her citizens did not. Those citizens who had wanted Maryland to join the Confederacy would now have to act on their own initiative. But the state was far from unanimous in its Southern sympathies.

Official figures show 63,000 Marylanders served in the Union army, while estimates of those serving in the Confederate army range from 21,000 to 22,000. Even if we assume two-thirds of the Union recruits to be unwilling draftees, Maryland was still an evenly divided state. If Maryland was divided, Charles County was not. Enrollment records from various sources show at least 134 men joined the Confederate army, while only one Charles County citizen is found among the 1,862 enrollment lists of the Union army in the Maryland Hall of Records.

published a letter by one of the county's leading political leaders, George W. Hughes: "I can see no ray of hope, to soothe or allay the justly exasperated feelings of the South in the antecedents of the President-elect. We are drifting with fearful rapidity towards revolution, and probably civil war."[4] That slavery and the forces calling for its abolition were at the heart of the problem was made clear by weekly editorials in the *Port Tobacco Times*: "There is…no difference of opinion on the institution of slavery…our people in this respect [are] a unit. All our people are willing and determined to defend the rights [of owning slaves] guaranteed to us by the Constitution of the United States, *even to the death*" (emphasis added).[5]

Citizens as well as politicians decried the election of Abraham Lincoln and the threat against slavery. Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, whose family was one of the largest slave-owning families in Charles County, bitterly admonished the leading Catholic theologian of the day, Orestes Browning, for supporting Lincoln's emancipation policies. In a letter to Browning, Mudd scolded him for not accepting the fact that slavery was a favored institution that God himself had created. Mudd wrote: "Christ, our Savior found slavery at his coming and yet made no command against its practice.... I think it is a great presumption in man to supply the omissions which God in his infinity thought proper to make." Mudd argued that Northerners and Southerners were inherently different. He wrote: "The people of the South were differently constituted from those of the North—attributable to education and climate…they are more sensitive—their sense of honor is much more keen and they would sooner run the risk of death, than live with an injured reputation."[6] Four years later Mudd would change his tune when his life was in jeopardy for aiding John Wilkes Booth. He would tell his military captors that he had always been "a good Union man."[7]



Samuel Alexander Mudd (above) helped to gather intelligence on behalf of the Confederacy. *Courtesy James O. Hall*

The election of Lincoln pushed the majority of Charles Countians into the arms of Southern militants. By the time Lincoln took his oath as president in March 1861, Charles County had raised four militia companies intent on defending Maryland against any coercive move by the federal government, should Maryland secede from the Union.[8] Among the four militia companies was the Charles County Mounted Volunteers commanded by Captain Samuel Cox, a prominent plantation owner who lived in the Port Tobacco district. Cox would wind up, like many of his neighbors, secretly serving the Confederacy.[9] Maryland did not secede and the local militia companies went underground, while many of their younger members went south to join the Confederate army.

The summer of 1861 saw military and Maryland state officials convinced that a Confederate invasion of Charles County was in preparation. Charles County provided a natural route into Washington. In 1814 the British had landed their invasion force at Benedict in the eastern part of the county and marched north to Bladensburg before turning south toward Washington. Now the Confederates were believed to be eyeing the western border of the county as an invasion route into the capital. Major General George B. McClellan, in command of the Army of the Potomac, wrote to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles: "I have, today received additional information that the enemy will, within a very short time, attempt to throw a respectable force from the mouth of Aquia Creek [Virginia] into Maryland."[10] This perceived invasion force would land on the Charles County shore just to the south of Budd's Ferry.

The military also believed that Confederate forces would attempt to put a second major force across the river into Charles County somewhere below Budd's ferry.[11] The area was undefended and occupied by a civilian population already engaged in various clandestine activities on behalf of the Confederacy. In reality, an invasion of Charles County was impractical if not impossible. In fact, maintaining batteries on the Virginia side of the river was extremely difficult for the Confederates. But perception amounted to reality as far as Union strategists were concerned.

McClellan decided to act. In October he ordered Brigadier General Joseph Hooker and his division of 6,000 Union troops into Charles County. McClellan had little interest in or knowledge of the subversive activities of those working on behalf of the Confederacy; he was only

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Left to right: "Huckleberry," the home of Confederate agent Thomas A. Jones; "Mulberry," the restored home of John Hanson, first president of the Continental Congress (private residence); and "Habre De Venture," the home of Thomas Stone, signer of the Declaration of Independence.

interested in securing the Maryland shoreline from a possible Confederate invasion and protecting Union shipping on the Potomac River from Confederate shore batteries. A secondary objective was to interdict traffic between the two shores. Boats nightly crossed the less than two miles to the Virginia side, carrying a variety of materials and persons who were intent on serving the Confederacy.

On the Virginia side, directly opposite Budd's Ferry, were two sites, Cockpit Point and Possum Point, that Hooker believed were already fortified by Confederate batteries. From these two points (and from Shipping Point and Evansport) Confederate batteries could inflict heavy damage on Union ships attempting to navigate the Potomac River to and from Washington. Opposite these points the river channel ran close to the Virginia side, making ships especially vulnerable to Confederate fire.

Hooker's task was a major undertaking. He set up a depot for supplies, building a large warehouse and wharf just south of Budd's Ferry near Liverpool Point. At the same time, he began constructing gun emplacements at Indian Head north of his headquarters and at Budd's Ferry to the south. He established a telegraph line to McClellan's headquarters in Washington from Chapel Point. This telegraph station would play an important role in April 1865 during the pursuit of John Wilkes Booth and his sidekick Davy Herold in their attempt to escape after Lincoln's assassination.

Following Winfield Scott's retirement as general-in-chief of the Union army on November 1, 1861, McClellan, Scott's replacement, began a major reorganization and overhaul of the army. McClellan's objective was a march on Richmond. Weeks turned into months and McClellan's stock began to fall sharply, as he seemed unwilling to launch his attack. McClellan's inactivity finally resulted in Lincoln issuing his War Order No. 1 directing that an advance on Richmond begin no later than February 22.

While McClellan fiddled, Hooker was developing a plan of his own to cross the Potomac and destroy the Confederate batteries endangering the river traffic. Hooker received permission to go ahead with his planned attack, scheduled for February 15, but the lack of sufficient boats forced him to reschedule the attack for February 22, the last day Lincoln had given McClellan to begin his move on Richmond. Further delays ended the operation, and on February 27 Hooker was ordered to cancel the attack—McClellan had decided Hooker's plan was a bad one. McClellan's chief engineer, John Barnard, had convinced McClellan that such an undertaking was likely to meet with the same fate as the Union debacle at Ball's Bluff north of Washington on October 21. Ball's Bluff had involved an amphibious assault across the Potomac near White's Ferry and resulted in a disastrous Union defeat. McClellan was unwilling to risk the same thing happening on his watch.

On March 9, two weeks after McClellan halted Hooker's planned attack, Hooker's troops noticed several fires on the Virginia side accompanied by several large explosions. The Confederates were destroying all their batteries and defenses along the Virginia shore. Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston, learning of the Union buildup under McClellan and the planned march on Richmond, believed the main invasion of Virginia would take place from Charles County. Johnston had received reports of large numbers of barges and boats being moved to the shore there, and concluded they were meant to ferry an invasion force across the river. Johnston ordered his army to set up its defensive line south of the Rappahannock; everything of military value between it and the Potomac was to be destroyed to prevent its capture by Union forces. What Hooker could not do in five months, Johnston's own men did in two days. As a result of Johnston's action, the Confederate threat to the Potomac had ended, leaving Hooker without an enemy.

An interesting sidelight to Hooker's operation in Charles County involved Professor Thaddeus S.C. Lowe's aerial balloon. On November 10, McClellan ordered Lowe to send one of his observation balloons to Hooker. On November 11, Lowe made an ascent from Budd's Ferry with his assistant, William Paulin, and General Daniel Sickles, commanding the Excelsior Brigade in Hooker's division. The aerial reconnaissance was impressive. Confederate batteries at Shipping Point were clearly visible. On December 8 Paulin made an ascent with Colonel William F. Small of the 26th Pennsylvania Infantry. Small was a professional draftsman and used his skills to make an aerial map of the Virginia shore from Chopawamsic Creek to Freestone Point, a distance of seven miles, noting the battery locations and troop dispositions all along the Confederate shore. Amazingly, he estimated the total Confederate force at 12,000 men, which was close to the actual number.[12] The information collected from Lowe's balloon ascents and Small's detailed aerial map were a great help in aiding Hooker in formulating his plan to cross the river and attack the batteries.

Lowe's aerial reconnaissance went for naught, however. In early April, the Army of the Potomac began the first of several "on to Richmond" marches.

Left to right: The Bryantown Tavern in Bryantown (a private residence); "Piney Church," church of Reverend Lemuel Wilmer (both photographed by the author); and "Wayside Chapel," located near Wayside, Charles County, Maryland (courtesy Jim and Betsy St. Laurent).

Nearly two months past Lincoln's deadline, McClellan received approval for his plan to march up the peninsula located between the James and York Rivers. Hooker's division was ordered to join the expedition, and on April 4 his men boarded transports in the Potomac River and departed. Only the cavalry was left behind to oversee the area. These troops were viewed by most citizens of Charles County as an army of occupation, not to protect the residents from Confederate invasion, but to suppress the local populace.

At the time of McClellan's move on Richmond, Lincoln had suspended recruitment in the North, a step which he later recognized to be a serious mistake. To save face, Seward devised a plan wherein the governors of several Northern states would issue statements urging Lincoln to call on the states for new volunteers.[13] On July 2 Lincoln issued a call for 300,000 men. Realizing that recruiting three-year volunteers would be difficult, Congress enacted a militia law that called for the enrollment of all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. The law implied that if individual states failed to meet their militia quotas assigned by the War Department, the government would step in and do it for them through a draft.

Enrollment officers moved into Charles County and began a systematic census recording all able-bodied men in the area. In all, 1,127 men were enrolled from among Charles County's several election districts. The militia act provided for exemptions from service for those deemed unable or unfit for service. A full thirty-four percent (385) of the 1,127 enrollees applied for and were granted exemptions, leaving a pool of 732 men to draw from should Maryland fail to meet its quota.

Of the 732 eligible men registered in 1862, not all were available to Union recruiters. An analysis of the enrollment books for Charles County located in the Maryland Hall of Records shows that sixty-six of the eligible men had already volunteered—for the Confederacy. Next to their names was the simple notation "gone south." In fact, a search of all of the currently available records show that at least 134 men from Charles County had "gone south" and enlisted in the Confederate military.[14] By contrast, the enrollment records show that only one man from the county responded to Lincoln's call for volunteers: his name was John Zell, a laborer from Nanjemoy.

A second enrollment occurred two years later in March 1864, in anticipation of a second national draft. This time a total of 1,056 men were enrolled. These two enrollments, 1862 and 1864, indicate that out of the total white male population of approximately 3,000,[15] there were 1,100 males aged from eighteen to forty-five (thirty-seven percent) eligible for military service.[16]

While records indicate 134 men went south to fight, several dozen Charles Countians remained at home choosing to serve in various capacities with the Confederate underground or Confederate Secret Service. In fact, Charles County may well have had the largest underground organization serving the Confederacy, certainly within Maryland, perhaps in all the North. Among those who stayed home to serve was Thomas A. Jones, the man who would shelter John Wilkes Booth in April 1865.[17] Jones lived as a tenant farmer whose property ran along a high bluff overlooking the Potomac River not too distant from Mathias Point, Virginia. Among Jones' associates in Charles County were such prominent men as George Dent, Sr., Dr. Stoughton Dent, George F. Harbin, Thomas Harbin, Samuel Cox, Sr., James Anthony Mudd, William Burtles, Dr. William Queen, George Atzerodt,

CHARLES COUNTY'S FAMOUS SONS

Charles County was home to several men of great influence in the early years of the republic.

DR. JAMES CRAIK (1730-1814) organized the hospital department of the Continental Army, and following the war settled in Alexandria, Virginia, becoming one of George Washington's physicians.

DR. GUSTAVUS RICHARD BROWN was a physician and botanist who attended Washington on his deathbed in December 1799.

JOHN HANSON (1721-1783) was elected "President of the Continental Congress" on November 15, 1781, leading some pundits to declare him the first President of the United States.

THOMAS STONE (1743-1787) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and served in the Continental Congress and Maryland Senate.

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD (1732-1792) commanded the Maryland Line of the Continental Army, leading his troops in battles in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina. He served as governor of Maryland from 1785-1788.

JOHN HOSKINS STONE (1750-1804) was the younger brother of Thomas Stone and served in the Revolution and as governor of Maryland in 1794.

DANIEL JENNIFER (- 1795) was the single largest provisioner of the Continental Army.

RAPHAEL SEMMES (1809-1877) served in the Confederate navy, commanding the C.S.S. *Sumter* and in 1862 took command of the C.S.S. *Alabama*. Semmes captured fifty-four Union ships during the war.

Left to right: A tobacco barn located in Charles County, Maryland; "Rich Hill," the home of Captain Samuel Cox, Sr.; and "Chiccamuxen Church," the site of General Hooker's headquarters. *All photographed by the author.*

and Dr. Samuel A. Mudd.[18] These men helped gather intelligence, transported people and arms across the river, and oversaw the movement of important mail and documents on behalf of the Confederacy.

Intelligence was vital to the success of the Rebel cause. A communications link was necessary between Richmond and points as far north as Canada, and Charles County became a key element within this link. Within months of the outbreak of war, a "mail line" had been established that ran from the southern boundary of Charles County north to Washington and beyond. This line ran due north from Richmond through Bowling Green and Port Royal on the Rappahannock to a spot on the Virginia side of the river near Mathias Point. Here it crossed the river and continued on just east of Port Tobacco to Surrattsville. From Surrattsville it made its way directly into Washington. A second route crossed the Potomac a few miles to the east, running north through Allen's Fresh at the mouth of the Wicomico River, past the farm of Samuel Mudd, and on to Surrattsville and Washington. A third line to the east ran north along the western side of the Patuxent River.

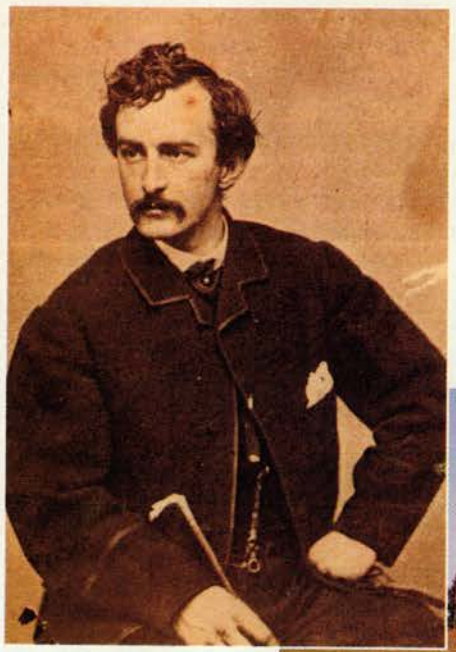
Of the three Confederate lines, it was the one that passed near Allen's Fresh and the farm of Samuel Mudd that John Wilkes Booth would use in his escape following his assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Closely attending these routes were the prominent leaders of Charles County, men whose names would have slipped into anonymity had it not have been for Booth. Principal among them were Thomas Jones, William Queen, Samuel Cox, Thomas Harbin, and Samuel Mudd.[19] All five men would become intimate with Booth and his plan to capture Lincoln.

Thomas Jones, the chief Confederate agent in Charles County, had labored long and hard in service to the Rebel cause, overseeing clandestine mail and ferrying people across the Potomac River to Virginia. Jones was an excellent agent, and an important part of the Confederate underground apparatus.[20] As active as Jones was during the four years of the war, he managed to avoid arrest by the military authorities most of the time. In October 1861, however, he was not so lucky. Jones was charged with "disloyal practices." Arrested at his home by a detachment from Sickles' brigade, he was taken to Washington where he was thrown into the Old Capitol Prison.

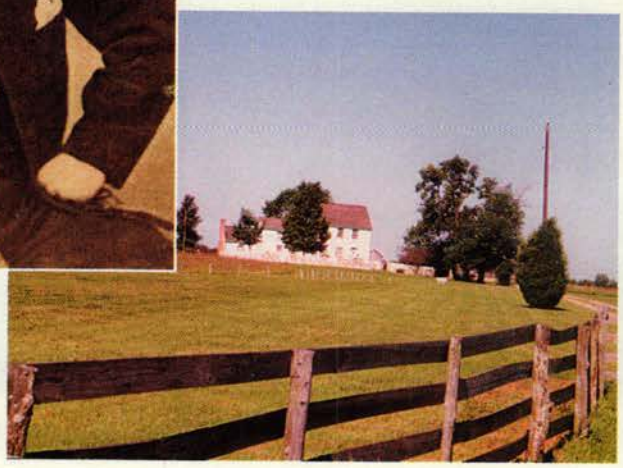
Jones was charged with "furnishing information to the rebels and in transporting men to Virginia for the purpose of joining the rebel army and also in the nightly transportation of contraband goods to the enemy."[21] During a search of Jones' home a copy of the Confederate signal regulations was discovered, along with letters addressed to various people in the South. Among the evidence against Jones was a statement given by George W. Smith, a former sheriff of Charles County, that Jones had ferried "men, arms and ammunition...over to Virginia in his own boat and with his own negroes." Smith also fingered a neighbor of Jones, James Anthony Mudd, Samuel Mudd's older brother. Smith told Union authorities that James Mudd was the ringleader of local secessionists who were smuggling arms and ammunition.[22] Held for six months, Jones was released after taking the oath of allegiance and returned home to Charles County where, disregarding his oath, he immediately resumed his treasonous activities.

While the occupying troops occasionally wreaked havoc on local residents (usually as a result of imbibing too much alcohol), local citizens suffered more at the hands of their slaves than they did from Yankee depredations. The county was plagued by slave unrest that manifested itself in an alarming increase in escape attempts and sabotage. The *Port Tobacco Times* carried a number of stories that reflected the growing problem. The June 19, 1862, issue reported: "About 40 Negroes, from Nanjemoy, left their homes—W. H. Mitchell lost 37, Samuel Adams lost 5. These stampedes are becoming common." On December 12, 1862, the same paper reported, "Benjamin Welch, Nanjemoy, had his penhouse and provender burned. Crop of tobacco, fodder, much corn, all farming utensils, a beef housed in pens, all lost." The mysterious fires were thought to be the work of slaves who were seeking revenge against their white masters.

As the war progressed Charles County slaves began to get the message that emancipation was becoming a goal of the Federal army. Many of the troops stationed throughout the area were New Englanders and New Yorkers who had little stomach for slavery. Word soon spread among the slaves that safety lay within the military lines for any slave who could reach them. In March 1862 two young male slaves belonging to Henry Lowe Mudd, Samuel Mudd's father, escaped the Mudd plantation and made their way to a Union army camp outside Washington, where they received refuge from the commander. Samuel Mudd



John Wilkes Booth (left). This photograph (Gutman No. 35) was distributed "about the environs of Washington to aid the capture of the murderer of the President." *Courtesy Kellie and Richard Gutman.*



A second route of the Rebel communications link passed by "St. Catharine's" (right), the home of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd. *Photograph by author.*

tried to recover his father's property, only to be rebuffed. Frustrated with the Yankee officer's refusal to turn the slaves over, Mudd wrote a letter to an influential cousin in Washington asking him to intercede with Secretary of War Stanton and try and get his slaves back. Mudd revealed his frustration by facetiously asking his cousin to "enquire of Mr. Stanton, if the people of Maryland are to be treated as secessionist after paying a tax of $2,500,000 to carry on the war."[23] Mudd failed to recover his father's lost "property."

To help counter the loss of slave property, the able-bodied white men of the county formed slave-capturing posses, known as "Paddy Rollers." These posses patrolled the area on a regular basis, hunting down runaways. Samuel Mudd and his younger brother Henry Lowe, Jr., were part of one such patrol. The brothers were involved in one incident involving a runaway slave named George Hawkins, who had attempted to escape to the District of Columbia. Hundreds had successfully made their escape to the District evading capture by the "Paddy Rollers," but Hawkins was one of the unlucky ones. Samuel Mudd, his brother Henry, and a neighbor, Henry Burch, ran Hawkins down late one night. According to allegations filed with the Washington provost marshal by three escaped slaves, Hawkins "was beaten unmercifully" and thrown into a holding pen before being shipped to Virginia.[24]

Although the citizens of Charles County were heavily pro-Confederate, there were a few individuals besides Nathan Burnham who supported the Union. The Reverend Lemuel Wilmer was one such man. Wilmer was minister at the "Piney Branch" church that encompassed the Episcopal diocese of Port Tobacco. Wilmer supplied information on a regular basis to the Federal authorities about the underground activity in the area. In a letter dated October 26, 1861, to Washington Provost Marshal Andrew Porter, Wilmer is credited with identifying several local people as communicating with the enemy on the Virginia side of the river.[25] Several of the culprits were arrested and thrown into Old Capitol Prison thanks to Wilmer's information. Wilmer remained loyal throughout the war in a parish that was almost entirely pro-Confederate, and yet managed to survive and hold his position with the church until his death in 1869.

The election of 1864 saw Lincoln win the state of Maryland by a majority of 7,400 votes out of 73,000 cast. Lincoln's vote total of 40,153 exceeded his 1860 total by a whopping 38,000. While 90,000 Marylanders cast votes in the presidential election of 1860, the 1864 election saw that number drop to 73,000.[26] The difference of 17,000 more than likely reflected the large number of potential voters who had gone South to join the Confederate army. While 11,770 Marylanders were paroled at the end of the war, the estimate for the total number serving in the Confederate military lies somewhere between 21,000 and 22,000 when all sources are taken into account.[27] It is a moot point to speculate how these soldiers would have voted if they had had the opportunity and desire to exercise it: McClellan, Lincoln's opponent, was not viewed by most Confederates as being any more worthy of being president than he was commander of the Army of the Potomac.

On November 1, a few days before the presidential election, a new state constitution outlawing slavery became effective in Maryland. The new constitution had been adopted by the narrow margin of only 375 votes out of 59,973 cast, and Charles Countians had voted overwhelming against it, 978 to 13.[28] Despite Charles County's negative vote, Maryland was the first Border State to abolish slavery. Lincoln's presidency had finally come home to roost in a way that devastated the local economy: Charles County slaveowners forfeited over five million dollars in human "property," generating hatred for Lincoln and his emancipation politics.

The mood of the local people and the timing of the emancipation amendment proved fortuitous for one man in particular. On November 11, ten days after the legislature acted, John Wilkes Booth arrived in Charles County on the evening stage from Washington and checked into the Bryantown tavern. Booth was on a mission. He had come to Charles County looking for help in his plot to capture Lincoln and carry him to Richmond. He came prepared. In his pocket he carried a letter of introduction to two of the county's more prominent citizens who were also tied tightly into the Confederate underground, Dr. William Queen and Dr. Samuel A. Mudd.[29]

Booth had just returned to Washington from a visit to Montreal, where he met with two Confederate agents, George N. Sanders and Patrick Charles Martin.[30] Booth made arrangements with Martin to ship his theatrical wardrobe south on one of Martin's blockade-runners. But Booth was looking for more than help with shipping his wardrobe. He was be-

Thomas A. Jones (right) from a carte de visite photograph, ca. 1866, and Thomas Harbin (below) from a carte de visite, ca. 1870. *Both courtesy College of Southern Maryland.*

ginning to assemble a team of cohorts in a bold plan to capture Lincoln, and the surest route of escape lay through southern Maryland. Martin had connections with the Confederate underground in the area and Booth was in need of Martin's help. He needed an introduction to the network in the county, and Martin gave it to him.[31]

Booth was met at the Bryantown tavern by Joseph Queen, Dr. William Queen's son, and taken to Queen's house, where he spent the night. On Sunday, November 13, Booth attended services at St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church just south of Bryantown. Following church services, Booth was introduced to Samuel Mudd. The letter of introduction from Patrick Martin paid off. Over the next six weeks Booth and Mudd would meet on two more occasions, during which time Mudd introduced two key Confederate agents to Booth.[32] They were John H. Surratt, Jr., and Thomas Harbin. Mudd's role as a key connection in helping Booth assemble his team was supplemented by storing provisions at his house for the planned trip to Richmond with Lincoln.[33] Harbin would prove invaluable in arranging for Booth and Herold's transportation once they had crossed the Potomac River.

As is well known, the plot to capture Lincoln evolved into a plan to assassinate him. When Booth and his sidekick Davy Herold fled Washington following the assassination of the president, they headed straight for Charles County. For the next six days Booth relied exclusively on the Confederate underground to shelter him from pursuing Federal soldiers. After receiving medical attention from Dr. Mudd and an opportunity to gain needed rest, Booth and Herold were sent to "Rich Hill," the home of Captain Samuel Cox, not far from the Potomac River crossing used by Confederate agents. Cox turned the two fugitives over to Thomas Jones, who hid and cared for the men in a pine thicket for the next five days. On April 20 Jones put Booth and Herold in a boat and sent them toward the Virginia shore and Thomas Harbin.

Booth, however, was cornered and killed on April 26 at the farm of Richard Garrett, three miles south of the village of Port Royal in King George County, Virginia. By the time his body was returned to Washington, all the principal agents in Charles County were in Federal custody. All, that is, except Thomas Harbin. Harbin had slipped out of the country, eventually making his way to England, where he remained until he felt it was safe to return to the United States five years after. Years after Harbin fingered Samuel Mudd as the man who introduced him to Booth at the Bryantown Tavern in December 1864.

Thomas Jones, Samuel Cox, Sr., and Samuel Mudd were arrested and taken to Washington in connection with Lincoln's murder. Jones and Cox were eventually released and returned to their homes and old way of life. Mudd was not so lucky. Convicted of being one of Booth's conspirators, Mudd was sentenced to life in prison, only to be pardoned by President Andrew Johnson in February 1869. He died in 1883.

Nathan Burnham found his way to the District of Columbia following his expulsion from Charles County. In 1863 he attempted to gain a measure of revenge against those who ordered him to leave the county, when he walked into the provost marshal's office in Washington and accused several of his former neighbors of disloyal behavior. Included on Burnham's list were the names of William A. Mudd, Benjamin Gardner, and Hugh Mitchell,[34] the three men who visited Burnham in December 1860 and told him to leave the county by January 1 or be forcibly expelled.

The war over, Charles County residents went back to many of their old ways. The County Fair resumed, William Simmons held a "dinner and horse feed" for the Democratic candidates running for state office, and Joseph Gray ran a

Left to right: Grave site of Father Bernadine F. Wiget, St. Ignatius Church, Charles County; Grave of Thomas Stone in the family graveyard located at Stone's plantation home, Habre De Venture; Grave site of Samuel Cox, Sr., Mount Rise Cemetery near LaPlata, Charles County; and Grave site of Dr. William Queen at St. Mary's Catholic Church. *All photographed by the author.*

CHARLES COUNTY AND THE TRUE CROSS

Situated on a hill overlooking the confluence of the Port Tobacco and Potomac Rivers is the Church of Saint Ignatius, one of the oldest Roman Catholic churches in continuous service in the United States. The present structure was built in 1778 at a time when Charles County residents were pledging their lives and fortunes on behalf of the revolution. The church replaced chapels previously existing on the site between 1662 and 1700.

Father Andrew White, an English Jesuit priest, arrived in present-day Maryland aboard the *Ark and Dove* in 1634. In 1642 he established a Catholic mission at Port Tobacco, bringing Catholicism to the new colonies.

White arrived in the New World carrying a most unusual relic. Contained in a glass vial sealed at each end with elaborate silver caps, was a small piece of wood, approximately six inches in length, said to be a piece of the "true cross." It was given to Father White by Charles I on White's departure from England for America in 1633.

Father Bernadine F. Wiget, one of two priests who attended Mary Surratt on the gallows at the time of her hanging, was pastor of St. Ignatius from 1854-1856 and 1879-1883. Several members of this church served in the Confederate underground.

Glass vial (left) containing what is purported to be a piece of the "true cross." The St. Ignatius relic was carried to the New World by Father Andrew White in 1634. *Photograph by the Author*

notice in the *Port TobaccoTimes* warning people not to hire the "Negro George Mankins" who had left his employ—a violation of the new "Black Codes" that effectively bound freed slaves to former masters. The Charles County Mounted Volunteers reassembled on the green at Port Tobacco for a grand review under their new captain, Henry C. Page. Accepting the review as a token of special honor was the unit's original organizer, Captain Samuel Cox, Sr.

The greatest loss to the people of Charles County was not in material things, but in human treasure. Permanently missing were several men who had made their way across the river to join the Confederate army. Recognition of their sacrifice in the Confederate cause can be found today scattered about the county in various cemeteries where small Confederate flags adorn their graves. Not overlooked in this display of modern-day patriotism are the men and woman who stayed behind to serve the cause in the underground. Like their comrades who bore arms, many of their graves are also marked with Confederate flags, the symbol of their cause. □

EDWARD STEERS, JR., is an acknowledged expert on the Lincoln assassination and Lincoln's early life. He is author of *His Name Is Still Mudd* (1997), and *Blood on the Moon. The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* (2001). His latest work (as editor) *The Trial: The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln and the Trial of the Conspirators* is due to be released in June 2003.

The author would like to thank Jim and Betsy St. Laurent (Calvert County), Naomi Petrash (Christ Church, Wayside), Joan L. Chaconas and Laurie Verge (Surratt House Museum), Sarah Barley, College of Southern Maryland, and Michael Musick (National Archives Records Administration) for their help with parts of this article.

NOTES

1. *Port Tobacco Times and Charles County Advertiser*, December 27, 1860, Vol. XVII, No. 2, p. 2, col. 2. Hereafter referred to as *Port Tobacco Times.*
2. Of the 85,667 votes cast in the 1860 election in Maryland, Lincoln and Hamlin received 2,246, or 2.6 percent of the total. In Charles County, Lincoln and Hamlin received a total of six votes and all six counties of southern Maryland cast a grand total of 61 votes for the Republican ticket. See *Port Tobacco Times*, November 22, 1860, p. 2, col. 4.
3. See *Port Tobacco Times*, January 17, 1861, p. 1, col. 1.
4. *Port Tobacco Times*, January 3, 1861, p. 1, col. 6.
5. *Port Tobacco Times*, January 10, 1861, p. 2, col. 1.
6. Nettie Mudd, *The Life of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd* (1906; reprint, LaPlata, Maryland: 1983), pp. 352-53, 355.
7. Statement of Samuel A. Mudd, NARA, M-599, reel 5, frames 0226-0239.
8. *Port Tobacco Times*, January 3, 1861. The four companies were: Mounted Volunteers of Charles County, Smallwood Riflemen, Bryantown Minutemen, and Nanjemoy Rifle Company.
9. Among the known members of this Confederate underground were Dr. William Queen, Dr. Stoughton Dent, George Dent, Thomas Harbin, Thomas Jones, George Watkins, George Atzerodt, Rudolph Watkins, James Anthony Mudd and Dr. Samuel A. Mudd. See *U.S. War Department, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols, (Washington: 1880-1901), ser. 2, vol. 2: pp. 857-81, (hereafter *O.R.*), and Edward Steers, Jr., "Dr. Mudd and the 'Colored' Witnesses," *Civil War History*, vol. XLVI, No. 4 (December 2000): pp. 324-36.
10. Mary Alice Wills, *The Confederate Blockade of Washington, D.C., 1861-1862* (Shippensburg, PA: 1998), p. 58.
11. *Ibid*, 58-59.
12. Wills, 132.
13. James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (New York: 1988), p. 491.
14. These numbers were gleaned from Daniel D. Hartzler, *Marylanders in the Confederacy* (Westminster, Maryland: 1994), and Robert J. Driver, Jr., *First & Second Maryland Cavalry C.S.A.* (Charlottsville: 1999).
15. The U.S. Census for 1860 lists 2,929 white males of all ages living in Charles County. See Joseph C.G. Kennedy, *Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census, 1860* (Washington: 1862), p. 263.
16. The call for volunteers nationwide was a success with 421,00 three-year volunteers and 88,000 nine-month volunteers signing up for service. The over-subscription of volunteers exempted certain areas from their quotas.
17. Among the C.S.A. Maryland Records in the Maryland Historical Society is a letter from William Norris, chief of the Confederate Signal Bureau, attesting to Jones' title as "Chief Agent of the Secret Service Bureau in Maryland."
18. These men are identified as Confederate operatives in several records, including: Union Provost Marshal's File of Papers Relating to Two or More Civilians. File # 6083, RG 109, M416, NARA; Thomas A. Jones, *J. Wilkes Booth* (Chicago: 1893); *O.R.*, ser. 2, vol. 2: 868; and Mark E. Neely, Jr., "Some New Light on Thomas A. Jones and a Mysterious Man Named Mudd," *Lincoln Lore*, no. 1721 (July 1981): pp. 2-4. For a discussion of the Confederate involvement of James Anthony Mudd and Samuel A. Mudd see Edward Steers Jr. "Dr. Mudd and the 'Colored' Witnesses," *Civil War History*, vol. XLVI, no. 4.
19. John H. Surratt, Jr., was also key to the operation of the mail line, but he lived in Prince George's County. He used the Mudd home as well as the Surratt Tavern as a "safe" stop. See Ben Perley Poore, *The Conspiracy Trial for the Murder of the President*, 3 vols. (New York: 1972), 2: pp. 150-68, and David W. Gaddy, "The Surratt Tavern—A Confederate 'Safe House?'", *In Pursuit of...Continuing Research in the Field of the Lincoln Assassination* (Clinton, Maryland: Surratt Society, 1990), p. 129.
20. Jones, *Booth*, 13.
21. *O.R.*, ser. 2, vol. 2: p. 858.
22. *Ibid.*, 868-869.
23. Samuel A. Mudd, letter to Henry A. Clarke, 18 March 1862, NARA, RG 107, Records of the Secretary of War, Letters Received, file M-353 (102).
24. Union Provost Marshal's File of Papers Relating to Two or More Civilians, NARA, RG 109, M416, File 6083.
25. *O.R.* Ser. 2, Vol. 2: p. 862.
26. Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Abraham Lincoln Encyclopedia* (New York: 1982).
27. Daniel D. Hartzler, *Marylanders in the Confederacy* (Westminister, Maryland: 1986), pp. 1-3.
28. The statewide civilian vote was 29,536 against ratification and 27,541 for ratification. The soldier vote (2,633 for, 263 against) resulted in adoption of the new constitution by the slim majority of 375 votes. Charles Lewis Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862-1864* (Baltimore: 1964).
29. Statement of Eaton Horner, *Poore*, I: 430.
30. William A. Tidwell, James O. Hall and David W. Gaddy, *Come Retribution* (Jackson, Mississippi: 1988), pp. 329-30.
31. *Ibid*, 330-31.
32. Edward Steers, Jr., *His Name Is Still Mudd* (Gettysburg: 1997).
33. See statement of George Atzerodt in Joan L. Chaconas, "Unpublished Atzerodt Confession Revealed Here for the First Time," *Surratt Courier*, vol. XIII, no. 10 (October 1988): pp. 1-3.
34. Hugh Mitchell "went south" and enlisted in Company I of the 1st Maryland Infantry, rising to the rank of lieutenant (Hartzell, 225).

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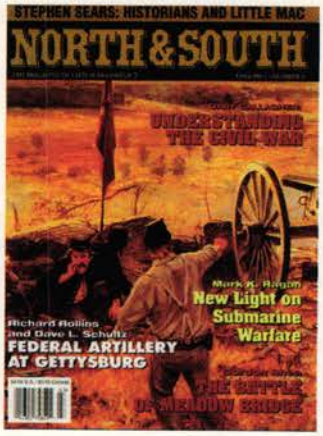

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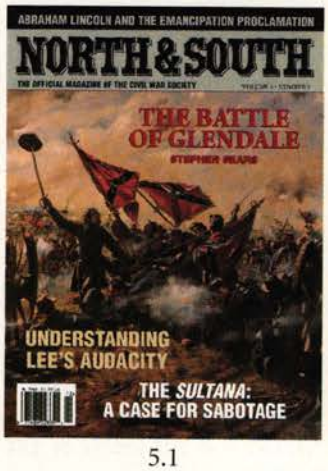

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HOW GREAT A CAPTAIN?: To what extent can we now draw up a balance sheet of Lee's strengths and weaknesses? —*Keith Poulter*

VOLUME 3, #6

THE RIGHT OF SECESSION: The states did have a right of secession.—*Kent Masterson Brown*

AN EARLIER BRIDGE TOO FAR: The Battle of Staunton River Bridge.—*Philip Bolté*

THE VEILED LADY The spotlight seldom shines upon *successful* spies, a point made by the history of the mysterious Sarah Slater.—*James O. Hall*

CUT TO PIECES AND GONE TO HELL: The aftermath of the Battle of Poison Spring was a gruesome reminder that "war is hell." —*Gregory J.W. Urwin*

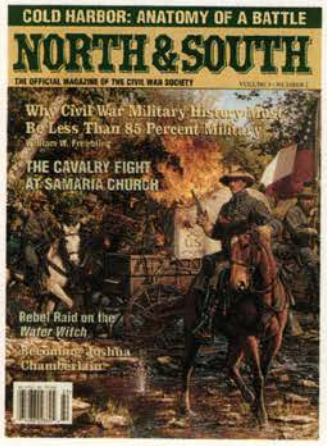
LEE: THE TWILIGHT YEARS: Robert E. Lee's behavior in the years remaining to him after the Civil War cast a revealing light on the the man. —*Patrick Brennan*

FIRE IN THE STREETS: The preliminaries to the Battle of Fredericksburg included a vicious fire fight in the streets. —*George C. Rable*

VOLUME 3, #7

"REBELLION THUS SUGAR-COATED" In 1860 secessionists claimed a unilateral right to withdraw from the Union. Lincoln denounced this as an "ingenious sophism." —*John Y. Simon*

GLORY DENIED: FIRST DEEP BOTTOM: In July 1864 U.S. Grant entrusted an important operation to Winfield Scott Hancock and Philip H. Sheridan. The result was a grave disappointment. — *Bryce Sudarow*



5.2

THE LINCOLN ASSASSINATION REVISITED: New evidence regarding the assassination of Abraham Lincoln should not be lightly dismissed. — *William Hanchett*

BLACK SLAVERY, WHITE LIBERTY: The prewar conflict in "Bleeding Kansas" was not so much about black slavery, as about the liberty of whites. —*Nicole Etcheson*

RISKING THE WRATH OF GOD: During the Civil War Dr. Luke Blackburn attempted to create yellow fever epidemics in northern and northern-occupied cities. —*Edward Steers, Jr.*

GALLOPING THUNDER The Stuart Horse Artillery Battalion carved for itself a record that could stand with that of any unit north or south. —*Robert J. Trout*

VOLUME 4, #1

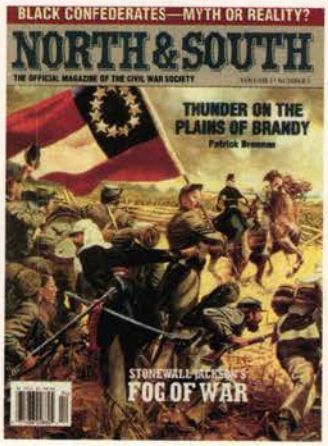
WHAT CAUSED THE CIVIL WAR? Subsequent "political correctness" notwithstanding, contemporary evidence makes it quite clear what caused the Civil War. —*James M. McPherson*

COMRADES OF THE SOUTHERN CROSS In the aftermath of the defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, Confederate Major General Patrick Cleburne came up with an imaginative way to reinforce the esprit de corps of his division. —*Mauriel Joslyn*

BREVET MAJOR GENERAL JAMES S. WADSWORTH: THE STUFF OF LEGENDS: For some, no sacrifice was too great. —*Wayne Mahood*

"BUTCHER" GRANT AND THE OVERLAND CAMPAIGN: The ghost of "Grant the butcher" haunts Civil War lore. But what of the facts? —*Gordon C. Rhea*

"GIVE 'EM HELL": The Battle of Fayetteville, April 18, 1863, pitted Unionist Arkansans and Confederate Arkansans against one another. —*Russell L. Mahan*



5.3

ONE OF THE MOST GALLANT MEN: From Gettysburg to Petersburg, Irish color guard Patrick De Lacy of the 143rd Pensylvania appeared to have a charmed life. —*Kevin O'Brien*

A NOSTALGIC PANORAMA The Kurz and Allison Civil War illustrations. —*Harold Holzer and Mark Neely*

VOLUME 4, #2

"ONLY A MIRACLE CAN SAVE US" Early in August 1864 U.S. Grant resolved to try again to crack the rebel defenses north of the James. The result was the Second Battle of Deep Bottom.—*Bryce Suderow*

HONOR REDEEMED: Criticized for his poor performance at Shiloh, Lew Wallace redeemed his honor at the Battle of Monocacy. —*Gloria Baker Swift and Gail Stephens*

ONE WHO GOT AWAY: John Surratt was a key player in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Yet he was never found guilty.—*James E. T. Lange and Katherine DeWitt, Jr.*

MY OLD KENTUCKY HOME-AT WAR: For the women of war-torn Kentucky, the Civil War was often literally right at their door. —*Susan Lyons Hughes*

THE INNER FLORIDA BLOCKADE: The U.S. navy battle against rebel steamers operating on the St. Johns River. —*George E. Buker*

VOLUME 4, #3

WHAT WAS WRONG WITH THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC?: Why was it that the army seemed unable to get it together on the battlefield?—*Gordon Rhea, Richard Rollins, Stephen Sears, and John Y. Simon*

"THE BEST HATED MAN IN THE ARMY": The brilliant, stormy career of Major General William Babcock Hazen.—*James R. Furqueron*

DESPAIR, HOPE, AND DELUSION: Even as their military effort collapsed, the morale of many Southerners continued to be high. —*George C. Rable*

TWO TALES OF TENNESSEE: Two actions, one from 1862 and one from 1863, demonstrate the importance both of the commander on the spot and of the overall organization of cavalry to its success. —*Laurence Schiller*

VOLUME 4, #5

PICKETT'S CHARGE AND THE PRINCIPLES OF WAR: Pickett's Charge is often seen as a bad move on Lee's part.

VOLUME 4, #6

THE INFANTRYMAN IN COMBAT: What was it like to be an infantryman in the Civil War?—*Reid Mitchell*

BACKGROUND TO BLOODSHED: In many ways the lessons the U.S. Army learned in the Mexican-American War were highly misleading.—*Perry Jamieson*

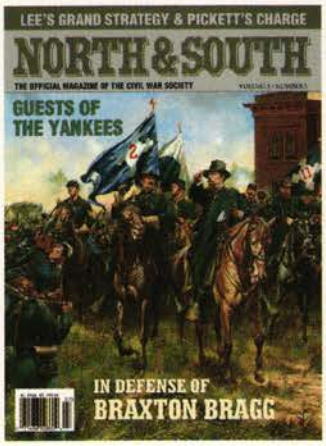
THE CHANGING FACE OF BATTLE: Technological changes rendered frontal assaults more often than not suicidal, but some commanders were slow to learn. —*Herman Hattaway*

BATTLE FLAG: The Confederate battle flag in historical perspective. —*John M. Coski*

THE OTHER HIGH WATER MARK: Four hundred and fifty miles southwest of Gettysburg, a stone wall runs along a ridge line. Lacking monuments, unmarked, and hardly visited, it nevertheless marks the high tide of the Confederacy in the west. —*Kenneth W. Noe*

"A REGULAR SLAVE HUNT": Perhaps as many as several hundred free blacks

5.4



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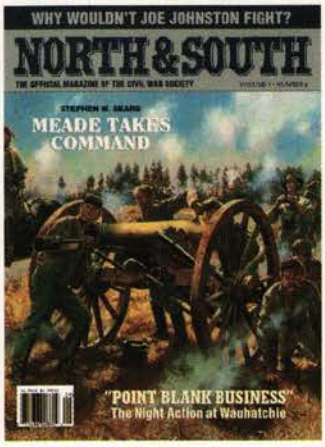

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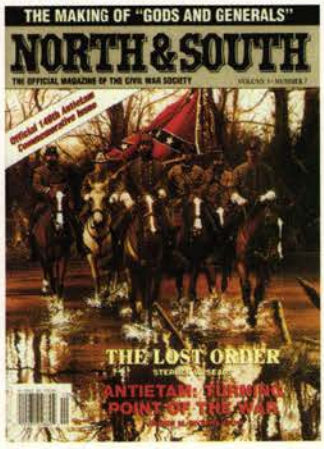

5.7

RACE IN THE CIVIL WAR: Just as race had helped to cause the war, so attitudes toward—and definitions of—race helped shape it. —*Mark Grimsley*

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED AT SNAKE CREEK GAP?: Did William T. Sherman really bamboozle Johns-ton at Snake Creek Gap?—*Steven H. Newton*

THE OTHER DAHLGREN: Union Admiral John Dahlgren had a Confederate brother.—*Bruce Allardice*

LAST CHANCE FOR VICTORY: At the conclusion of the first day's fighting at Gettysburg, General Robert E. Lee had a number of options. Did he choose wisely? —*Scott Bowden and Bill Ward*

VOLUME 4, #4

IN THE SHADOW OF WASHINGTON: How far did Lee shape his role on that of Washington? —*Rick McCaslin*

APOSTLES OF SECESSION: What were the arguments of secession commissioners in the winter of 1860-1861? —*Charles B. Dew*

"THE HOTTEST PLACE I WAS EVER IN": The seven-hour Battle of Haw's Shop would show what Wade Hampton was made of. —*Gordon C. Rhea*

In fact there were cogent reasons for making the attempt. —*Richard Rollins*

CHARLIE BELL: UNION SCOUT: One of the most successful scouts of the war, Bell carried out no fewer than thirty-seven missions behind enemy lines, and made an important contribution to the Vicksburg Campaign. —*William B. Feis*

"IT HAUNTS ME NIGHT AND DAY": Fate brought Major General James G. Blunt's wagon train and William Quantrill's guerrillas together on the Kansas prairie on October 6, 1863, setting the scene for one of the war's bloodiest episodes. —*Kip Lindberg and Matt Matthews*

"A PERFECT PICTURE OF HELL": Captured *en masse* several times during the war, the men of the 12th Iowa were in a unique position to observe the deterioration of prison camp conditions. —*Ted Genoways and Hugh H. Genoways*

THE "BEST HATED MAN" IN THE ARMY: PART II: From the opening of the Cracker Line to service on the western frontier, General William Babcock Hazen was an outstanding, and outspoken soldier.—*James R. Furqueron*

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VOLUME 4, #7

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A HOT TIME IN ASHLAND: Three and a half weeks into the Overland Campaign, a Union cavalry brigade found itself surrounded and in acute danger of being destroyed. —*Gordon C. Rhea*

WHY DID ABRAHAM LINCOLN CHOOSE WAR?: Slavery had little to do with Lincoln's determination to crush the secessionist states. —*Jeffrey R. Hummel*

and contrabands—men, women, and children—were seized by the Army of Northern Virginia during the Gettysburg Campaign, and taken into slavery. Was this the action of a few undisciplined units, or was it the settled policy of the army's high command? —*Ted Alexander*

VOLUME 5, #1

LEE'S LOST OPPORTUNITY: THE BATTLE OF GLENDALE: Robert E. Lee "had only that one day for a Cannae, and the army was not ready for it." —*Stephen W. Sears*

UNDERSTANDING LEE'S AUDACITY: Lee's audacity was rooted neither in biology nor in emotion, but in a cool analytical, professional expertise.—*Richard Rollins*

AFTER THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION: Abraham Lincoln's role in the ending of slavery.—*William C. Harris*

STONEWALL JACKSON AT FRONT ROYAL: Traditional accounts of the battle are sharply at variance with the historical facts. —*Gary L. Ecelbarger*

"POISONOUS TECHNIQUES AND DRESSING": A study of U.S. General Hospital #1 in Frederick, Maryland, through which more than thirty thou-

sand patients passed, sheds important light on the practice of medicine in the Civil War. —*Terry Reimer*

SULTANA: A CASE FOR SABOTAGE: New evidence suggests that foul play may have been the cause of the 1865 river disaster. —*D.H. Rule*

VOLUME 5, #2

WHY CIVIL WAR MILITARY HISTORY MUST BE LESS THAN 85 PERCENT MILITARY: In *North & South*, volume 4, #6, editor Keith Poulter described military history as the "meat" of Civil War studies. Historian William W. Freehling ripostes that without the "potatoes" of social history, we cannot have a satisfying meal.

BECOMING JOSHUA LAWRENCE CHAMBERLAIN: Nothing in Joshua Chamberlain's life prior to the Civil War suggested that he would one day become known as "The Hero of Little Round Top." In fact, his life during the antebellum years took him about as far afield of military matters and heroism as a man could get.—*Glenn W. LaFantasie*

COLD HARBOR: ANATOMY OF A BATTLE: Why was the attack launched? How many casualties were there? Which units suffered most, and why? And did General Robert E. Lee really have not so much as one man in reserve? Contemporary records reveal that much that we thought we knew about the battle is fiction. —*Gordon C. Rhea*

THE CAVALRY FIGHT AT SAMARIA CHURCH: After Phil Sheridan's defeat at Trevilian Station, his cavalry retreated toward the James River, accompanied by a wagon train filled with seriously wounded men and prisoners. A single division was detached to act as rearguard at Samaria Church, and that unit swiftly became the target of the entire Confederate cavalry command.—*Eric J. Wittenberg*

REBEL RAID ON THE WATER WITCH: "We are Rebels! Give way boys! Three cheers and board her!" The dramatic capture of a Union blockade ship off Savannah.—Derek Smith

VOLUME 5, #3

THUNDER ON THE PLAINS OF BRANDY (PART I): "Jeb" Stuart was caught napping when Union troopers burst across Beverley's Ford, but he still fought them to a standstill in the war's greatest cavalry battle. —*Patrick Brennan*

BLACKS IN GRAY: Did blacks really serve in the Confederate army? And if so, who were they and how many of them were there? —*Jason H. Silverman*

STONEWALL JACKSON'S FOG OF WAR: Sandwiched between the victories of Port Royal and Winchester, May 24, 1862, was a day of "order, counter-order, disorder." A step-by-step examination of the day's events can help us understand the confusion that is part and parcel of any campaign. —*Gary L. Ecelbarger*

"IF EVER WAR WAS HOLY": Young Quaker Unionists faced a wrenching dilemma when war broke out: was the cause such as to override their traditional pacifism?—*Jennifer L. Weber*

PORTRAIT OF AN HISTORICAL DETECTIVE: James O. Hall has added more to our knowledge of Abraham Lincoln's assassination than any other man. Who is Hall, and how did he come to put his unique stamp on the study of this defining moment in American history? —*Kieran McAuliffe*

VOLUME 5, #4

TERROR—1860S STYLE: Sabotage, arson, and chemical and biological warfare were all features of a campaign intended to demoralize Northern civilians. —*Edward Steers, Jr.*

"BETTER OFF IN HELL": The grim history of the Kansas Red Legs. —*Matt Matthews and Kip Lindberg*

THUNDER ON THE PLAINS OF BRANDY (PART II): Assailed in front and rear, Jeb Stuart pulled out all the stops to halt the Yankee calvary incursion across the Rappahannock. —*Patrick Brennan*

"WE SHOULD ASSUME THE AGGRESSIVE": What were the arguments and counter-arguments put forward at the strategy meeting between Robert E. Lee, James Seddon, and Jefferson Davis, which led to the Gettysburg Campaign? —*Stephen W. Sears*

FIGHTING FOR TIME: Desperate to slow the advancing Union juggernaut, the Confederate cavalry fought skilful delaying actions as their enemy advanced up the Red River. —*Curtis Milbourn*

VIRGINIA'S RELUCTANT SECESSION: Even after Fort Sumter had been fired upon, Virginians were divided as to whether to secede. —*William W. Freehling*

VOLUME 5, #5

THE ARMY COMMANDER WHO NEVER WAS: The life and death of General Isaac Ingalls Stevens. —*Patrick Brennan*

IN DEFENSE OF BRAXTON BRAGG: Bragg's detachment of James Longstreet prior to the Battle of Missionary Ridge was by no means as eccentric as it is usually portrayed. —*Edward C. Franks*

GUESTS OF THE YANKEES: A reevaluation of Union treatment of Confederate prisoners. —*James Gillispie*

MANAGEMENT IN WAR: THE CASE OF CIVIL WAR RAILROADS: The Confederate government's failure to utilize its railroads effectively was symptomatic of its broader failure to mobilize its forces for war. —*John E. Clark, Jr.*

THAT DAM FAILURE: Two little known skirmishes inflicted a significant delay on George McClellan's march toward Richmond. — *J. Michael Moore*

LEE'S GRAND STRATEGY & PICKETT'S CHARGE: Lee's actions as commander of the principal army of the Confederacy were shaped by his overall understanding of the war. —*Richard Rollins*

VOLUME 5, #6

MEADE TAKES COMMAND: The appointment of George Gordon Meade to command the Army of the Potomac, just days before the Battle of Gettysburg, is a dark tale of intrigue, double-dealing, and miscalculation. —*Stephen W. Sears*

"POINT BLANK BUSINESS": If the Confederates were to reestablish the siege of Chattanooga, they had to eliminate the Federal bridgehead at Brown's Ferry and the outpost at Wauhatchie. The task was given to James Longstreet. —*James R. Furqueron*

WHY WOULDN'T JOE JOHNSTON FIGHT?: Could the explanation for Joe Johnston's lack of aggressiveness lie in his understanding of the methods of Frederick the Great?—*Steven Newton*

"I TELL YOU, SIR, THEY ARE YANKEES!": The fighting at the Squire Bottom House, "key to the federal line" at the Battle of Perryville, was as savage as any that took place during the Civil War. —*John P. Walsh, Jr.*

"TO THIS FATAL BLUNDER": The ongoing feud between Edmund Kirby Smith and Richard Taylor was a reflection both of divergent approaches to Confederate Trans-Mississippi strategy and of Smith's quest for glory. —*Jeffery S. Prushankin*

ANTIETAM SPECIAL VOLUME 5, #7

THE DECISIVE EVENT OF THE WAR: No other campaign and battle in the war had such momentous, multiple consequences as Antietam. The supreme Confederate effort had been stymied, foreign powers backed away from recognition, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, and Northern voters did not overthrow the Republican Party. —*James M. McPherson*

THE MAKING OF "GODS AND GENERALS": Making history as reality is Ron Maxwell's passion. Generating good history from Hollywood is his indefatigable mission. —*Dennis Frye*

"IT LOOKED LIKE A TASK TO STORM": The Pennsylvania Reserves storm South Mountain, September 14, 1862. —*D. Scott Hartwig*

THE TWISTED TALE OF THE LOST ORDER: Although George McClellan failed to make the best use of Special Orders 191, its loss wrecked Robert E. Lee's grand campaign plan.—*Stephen W. Sears*

"THROUGH GOD'S BLESSING": Stonewall Jackson's triumph at Harper's Ferry. —*Dennis Frye*

ANTIETAM: THE BLOODIEST DAY: The Battle of Antietam was a Union victory, but piecemeal attacks prevented the Army of Northern Virginia from being decimated. —*Ted Alexander*

VOLUME 6, #1

SHERMAN'S MARCH AND THE GEORGIA ARSENALS: As the Union army cut its swathe through Georgia, disruption of Confederate munitions production was a major goal. —*Louis A. Garavaglia*

"A VERY DISASTROUS DEFEAT": On July 4, 1863, a Confederate force attempted to capture Helena, Arkansas, but the incompetent generalship of Theophilus Holmes doomed a valiant army to defeat.—*Gregory J. W. Urwin*

THE CONFEDERATE HOME GUARD: Forgotten soldiers of the Lost Cause? —*Steven H. Newton*

"TO PLAY A BOLD GAME": The Battle of Honey Springs was brought on not so much by military necessity as by political ambition.—*Kip Lindberg and Matt Matthews*

SANDERS' RAID: In June 1863 Major General Ambrose E. Burnside had been deprived of the manpower he needed to mount a full scale invasion of East Tennessee. But he determined to mount a swift cavalry raid into Confederate held territory.—*Dorothy E. Kelly*

IN OUR NEXT ISSUE: VOL 6, #3

(Mails to subscribers on 2/26/03; on sale in stores 3/19/03.)

THE UNKNOWN WAR: LOGISTICS AND THE SIEGE OF PETERSBURG
—Bryce Suderow

REMEMBERING THE CIVIL WAR—*David Blight*

THE BATTLE OF PIEDMONT—*Scott Patchen*

UNION TROOPS' TREATMENT OF BLACK CIVILIANS—*Mark Grimsley*

POSTWAR PROPAGANDA: THE CASE OF THE POWS—*Jay Gillispie*

UNIONISM IN MISSISSIPPI—*Shannon Mallard*

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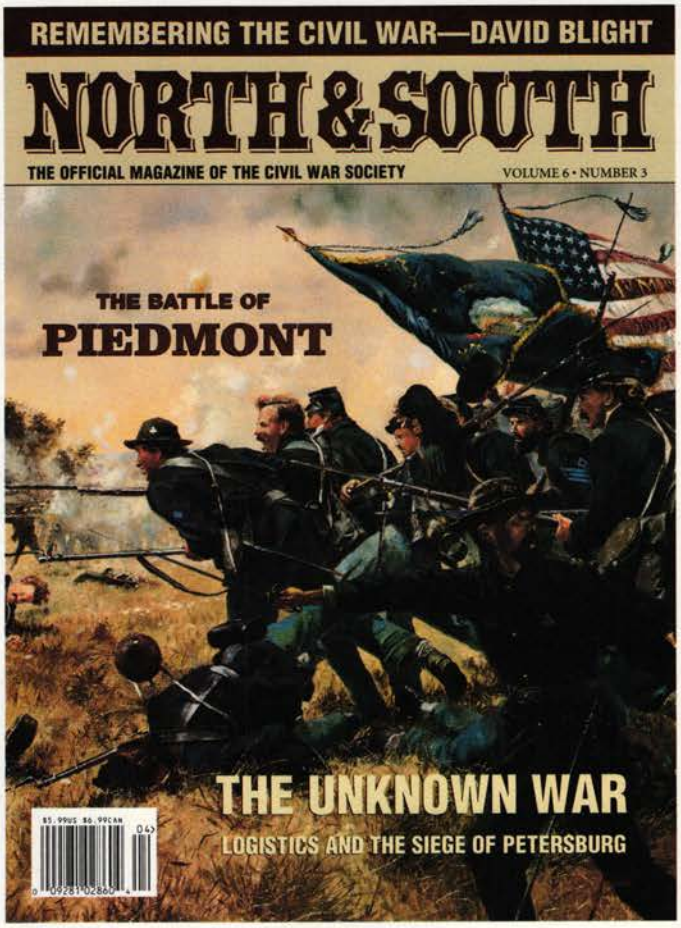

GOOD THINGS TO LOOK FORWARD TO

JONESBORO: THE FINEST OPPORTUNITY LOST
—James R. Furqueron

THE PAROLE SYSTEM *—Gerald J. Prokopowicz*

ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE *—Steven E. Woodworth*

LEE AT GETTYSBURG *—Stephen W. Sears*

FORREST AT FORT PILLOW *—Steven H. Newton*

DEATH OF A VETERAN—*Yohuru Williams*

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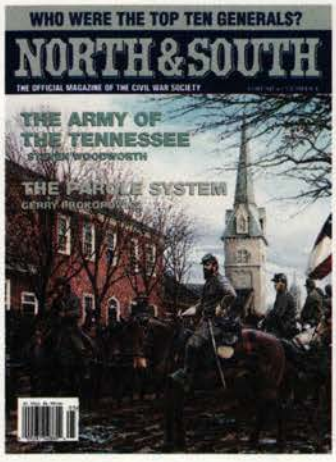

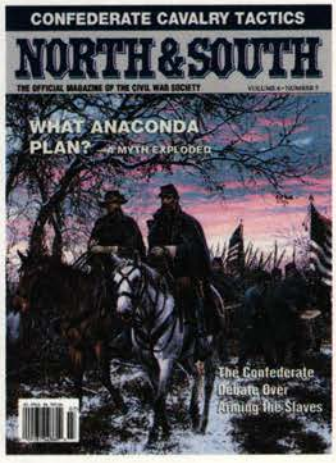

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"The Girl I Left Behind Me"

CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS AND THEIR WOMENFOLK

STEPHEN W. BERRY II

THE SCENE IS SO FAMOUS it hardly needs to be set. Thirteen thousand gray-clad men move steadily across an open field toward a stone wall. Behind the wall, a Union line stands largely undamaged, waiting. The Confederates are not in range yet. They will be, but not yet. And for just a moment the Union soldiers have nothing to do but watch. The rebels look like a "forest of flashing steel," thinks one Union officer, "[moving] as with one soul." They march as if "they [believe] themselves invincible" thinks another. To a third it is simply "the most beautiful thing" he has ever seen. For just a moment the war is exactly how everyone thought it would be. For just a moment they are all, blue and gray, equal, all the same, all men. Behind the wall, the Union soldiers look on in appreciation, almost awe, because it is as if they are looking in a mirror. They too have marched into the cannon's mouth. They too have been mowed down in front of a stone wall, wave upon wave. They recognize themselves in the mirror, and they wonder how they did it, and then they fire.

The question of how they did it haunts us still. Quite apart from the question of the war's causes, the question of how Civil War companies absorbed such casualties is a mainstay of the historiography. One explanation of soldier motivation stresses primary group cohesion, the notion that war throws men back upon their platoon, squad, or company. Johnny Reb and Billy Yank may have marched off to war full of their society's high ideals, but they soon confronted a world where hogs fed on the dying, where the hurtling jawbone of a shell victim was apt to bury itself in the head of the next man in line. However gloriously begun, heedless of any higher purpose, war becomes, in the colorful phrase of World War II GIs, quickly FUBAR. A man may wash the blood and brains from his skin, but he can't wash an essential irony from his mind—the irretrievable distance between what the war was supposed to be and what it is. Presented with such disjunctions, the soldier comes to rely not on fatuous ideologies but on the few men who share his experience and save his skin. Hardened by battle, fired by war, he fights for his band of brothers.

Detail from Paul Philippoteaux's 1883 Gettysburg cyclorama depicting the Union position north of the Angle. *Gettysburg National Military Park.*

Facing page: William Ludwell Sheppard's watercolor entitled "News from Home." Letters to and from fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, were important, but it was the exchanges with a sweetheart that fired a man's self-belief. *Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia, photograph by Katherine Wetzel.*

Some historians, most notably James McPherson, find this notion a trifle too, in a word, "Vietnam." While *we* are a cynical people, the men of the Civil War generation were not. They claimed to be fighting for liberty, independence, freedom, and love of country, and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary we should take them at their word. "What seem like bathos or platitudes to us," McPherson rightly claims, "were real pathos and convictions for them.... How smugly can we sneer at their expressions of willingness to die for those beliefs when we know so many of them did just that?"[1]

The following article supplements and amplifies Professor McPherson's findings—demonstrating the degree to which Confederate soldiers anchored their high ideals in more visceral emotions, most notably romantic love.[2] In transforming their war effort into a sacrifice for women, men mobilized feelings more wrenching and powerful than patriotism. In fighting for her he legitimated his ambition; in seeing himself through her eyes, he found a man he had always wanted to be. Ultimately, what separates this argument from Professor McPherson's is not even historical. It stems instead from a disagreement over human nature. Even when acting on our highest ideals, human beings are somewhat selfish and self-involved. We all want our sacrifices witnessed; we want credit for them; we want to be loved for them. If that is what men fight for generally, why should the Civil War be any different?

* * *

In 1859 George Peddy graduated from New Orleans Medical School, married the daughter of a local planter, and became a father. By all indications, his marriage to Zerlina Featherston was a happy one. The couple was affectionate with each other, even doting and play-

ful. One afternoon, when George arrived home from work, Zerlina hid behind a curtain and watched as her husband searched for her. "You looked all over the room but did not find my hideing place," she wrote him years later, "and turned away with so much disappointment depicted in your dear face [that] I could stay away from you no longer." George's disappointment had seemed sweetly funny in 1859. In 1863, with the Civil War raging and George in the army, the memory was a melancholy one. George and Zerlina were lost to each other in a different way now, one that threatened to be permanent, irreversible. "Such an incident served only to amuse me then," Zerlina noted, "but now it tells me in unmistakable language the strength of the chain of love which binds our hearts together."[3]

In the army, Zerlina became the center of George's world. "Although I am far from you," he wrote her, "& perhaps long absence may cause th[e] love that...you cherish for me to wither, yet rest assured...that so long as this eye can see, this tongue can speak, & this brain can think, I'll ever love & cherish you." George did not feel especially close to the other members of his company. Indeed, he was unpopular enough with some of his fellows that he had to assure Zerlina that, contrary to whatever she might have heard, he was in no danger of being shot by other members of his company. "If the Yankees were to attack us," he noted brutally, "I would be more uneasy for fear they would run over me in retreating...than to think they would shoot me." George may not have been the most popular member of the 56th Georgia Volunteers, but he bore this easily; in his wife and daughter he had all he wanted, all he needed. "How it is I love no one but you two I cannot tell," he wrote home helplessly, "but my affection[s] a[re] all concentrated on you & Laura.... My whole heart is yours & hers, [and] I have nothing but friendship for any one else."[4]

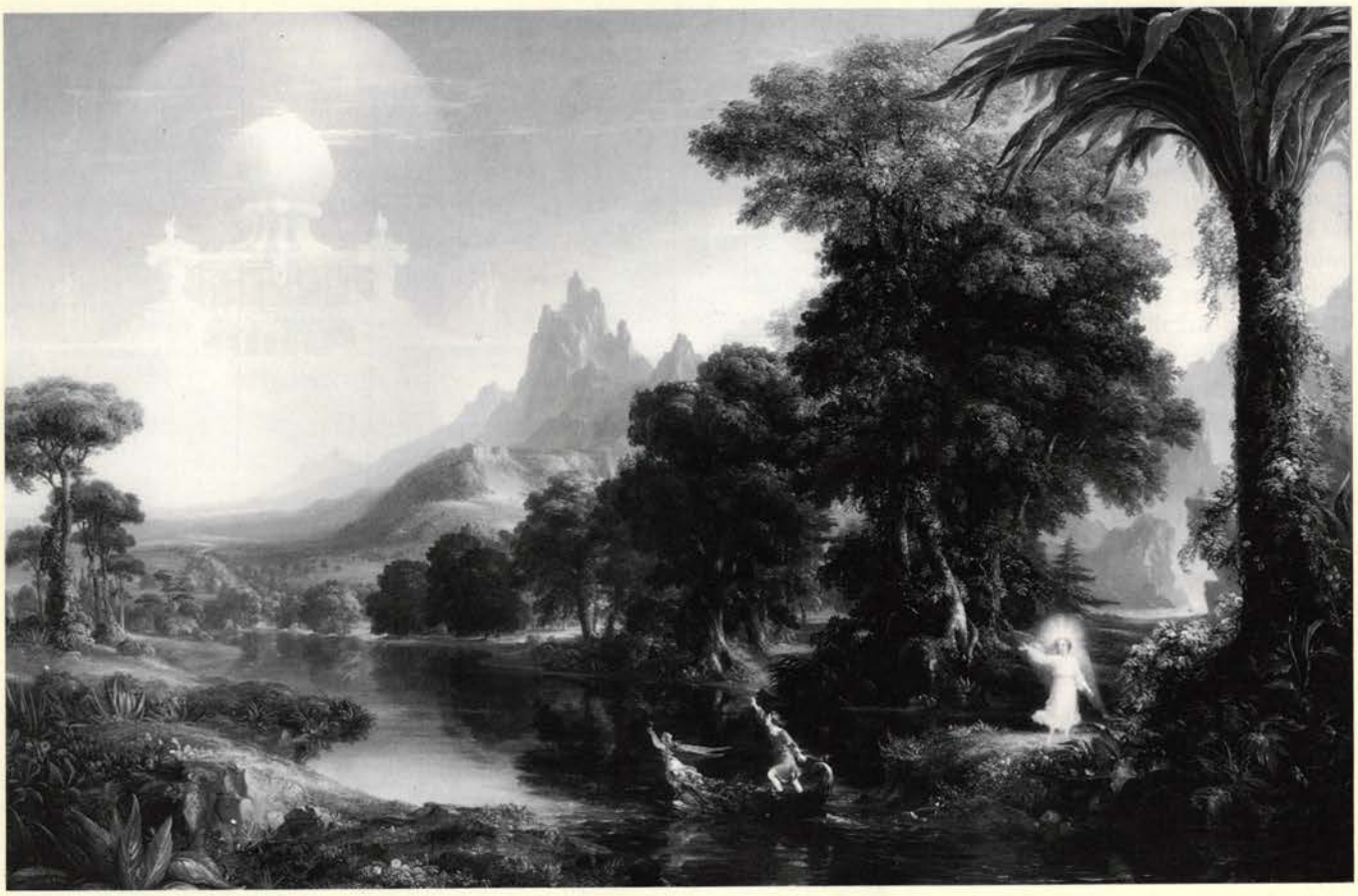
George did not tell Zerlina everything about his Confederate service, however; some things he kept bundled within him, things that would not escape until well after the war was over. He did not tell her, for instance, that at Missionary Ridge alone, he performed so many amputations that the pile of arms and legs

In the iconography of the war, women embodied ideals, men stormed the ramparts in their defense. *Southern Historical Collection, UNC.*

was tall enough to shield him from incoming bullets. The hours he spent working his tireless saw from within a bunker of decaying flesh were hours that were vouchsafed to himself alone. Protecting Zerlina's innocence, after all, was one of the reasons he was fighting in the first place. "I expect we will get into a fight," George wrote his wife in February 1862. "If we do, my sweet darling, & I get killed, I want you &...Laura to know that I have died in defence of your rights & furthermore that I died loving you...above all things on this earth."[5]

For George Peddy and countless others on both sides of the war, the motivation to fight lay not in the high ideals of patriotism or liberty. Neither did it lie in the battle-tested bonds they had formed with their "band of brothers." Rather it lay in the simple duties a man owes himself and his family. "Duty is the sublimest word in our language," Robert E. Lee famously warned his son. "Do your duty in all things. You cannot do more. You should never wish to do less." For the Civil War generation, manhood itself was a duty. A man owed a debt to his parents because they had given him life, a roof, an education, a name. He owed a debt to his wife and children because they gave him their trust, their love, their lives. He owed a debt to the Founding Fathers because he breathed free air in a world still ruled by tyrants and kings. And he was desperate to discharge those debts and live up to that duty, even if it meant rushing headlong into certain death. To be sure, Civil War soldiers understood themselves to be fighting and dying for some ideology or other, and so they were. But the meaning of that sacrifice, their emotional experience of it, was, like all men's sacrifices, grounded in the simple obligations a man feels for being born a man.[6]

It was this sentiment, more than any other, that was mobilized in 1861. Propagandists on both sides seemed implicitly to understand that for most men patriotism took a backseat to masculinity's more basic drive of protecting women. Women were not members of the high command of either Union or Confederate armies. They did not participate in strategic or tactical decisions; they did not lead, they did not fight, they did not vote. And yet in a surprising amount of Civil War propaganda women are featured prominently, often exclusively. In a tradition dating back to the French Revolution and earlier, images from the war depict women wearing their country's flag like a flowing robe, with swords and shields at their sides. Outfitted like goddesses of war, sanctified and unassailable, they were meant to embody the embattled national ideals for which



Even before the war, Southern men made a confusing mess of ambition and love. "Have I ever had a pleasure in which woman was not an element," asked Mississippian Henry Hughes. "Ambition and Love, these are my life." In the illustration above Thomas Cole captures the sentiment in "Voyage of Life (Youth)." Inspired by women (embodied at right) men embarked on a quest for greatness that occasionally proved but a castle in the sky. *Munson-Williams-Proctor Arts Institute, Museum of Art, Utica, New York. 55.106.*

men were dying. Males were never depicted in this fashion. Compromised by their own manhood, by the necessity of getting into the trenches and doing the dirty work, they could not capture an idea's chaste nobility. Women, by virtue of their non-involvement, could be understood as both above the fray and the reason for it, the essence of some ideal society men should die protecting. "I now see that Liberty is no longer a sweet and gentle maiden, with beautiful form and well-turned limbs," noted a Virginia soldier, "an armored warrior she stands, beckoning us on through hard fought battles and gory fields to victory." Interestingly, males and shields are never featured in the same image, while females and shields are typically featured together. Men do not need a shield because they are not supposed to protect themselves; rather they are themselves the shield that protects women and the social ideals the women embody.[7]

Not all of the designs, however, feature women drawn from Liberty, Columbia, or other goddesses. Many Union images, for instance, display elaborate scenes of parting as a man-boy leaves for war. Bearing titles like "The Girl I Left Behind Me," "The Parting Scene," "Off For the War," "Soldier's Farewell," and "Good-Bye Dearest," the general message of these images is that men should bear up bravely and determine to see the war as a defense of mothers, wives, sisters, and sweethearts. In one design a young man pauses atop a hillock to wave his hat to those gathered on his porch. The accompanying poem notes:

Upon the hill he turned, to take a last fond look,

At the valley, and the village church, and the cottage by the brook.

Beside that cottage porch, a girl was on her knees;

She held aloft a snowy scarf which fluttered in the breeze;

She breathed a prayer for him—a prayer he could not hear;

But he paused to bless her as she knelt, and wiped away a tear.

Many of these images were created early in the war, perhaps even before it commenced in earnest, and their veiled intent is to sponsor homesickness so as to direct it into positive channels—toward exalted soldiering and away from decadence or depression. Some young men, on their own for the first time, were undoubtedly despondent and uncomfortable in the tented field; by connecting them to homes and hearths such images gave them a sense of who they were suffering for. Other young men, perhaps a greater number, were *too* comfortable with their new freedoms, apt to go off drinking, gambling, or whoring. For these men, such images tweaked the conscience and reminded them that their conduct should always be worthy of the women they left behind.[8]

At least early in the war, then, most of the designs depicting females were intended to secure the allegiance of males, to anchor men's affection for their country in the sturdier soil of their affection for women and to draw parallels between

patriotism and romantic love until the two became synonymous. "I have never felt so anxious, upon any subject, as to close the term of my service in order that I might be with my loved Elodie," wrote a member of the 4th Alabama, "*She is my country*, and without her, I would have no country to live for and to die for." A young Georgia recruit made the same easy leap to the synonymity of woman and nation: "I shall fight [the Yankees]," he promised his wife, "as if they were entering your dwelling or ready to give the deadly blow to my dear wife and child. I tell you, I shall feel like I am fighting for home, sweet home." For these men, as for thousands of others, it was not enough that they were fighting for cause and comrades, slavery or state rights. Fratricide came considerably easier when they believed their brother stood between them and their wives. "I frequently think how just and right it is that I should be fighting for you and for my little girls, defending my country and vindicating *your rights and liberties*," wrote one soldier to his fiancée, "and [I] confess that I am calmed and satisfied when I take this view of the war." The obvious implication is that he would be something less than calm, something less than satisfied, if he were killing for anything less than his own exalted sense of woman.[9]

Letters to and from fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers were important, but it was the exchanges with a sweetheart that fired a man's self-belief. His love for her was the foundation on which he could build and rebuild his love of country; his all-consuming belief in her created the sacred space in which he could surrender and reclaim his soul. But what if man had no sweetheart? How could he fire his patriotism and steady his arm if he had no woman to make meaningful his many sacrifices? The case of John Floyd King (known by his middle name) and Lin Caperton illustrates the lengths to which a man would go to find a female focus for his war effort. Floyd met Lin while attending school in Virginia. Their courtship was perfectly typical up to a point, progressing easily along a trajectory that had launched many a successful Victorian marriage. Floyd requested permission from Lin's father to write to her, did not exactly get it, but wrote her anyway; they exchanged photographs; and finally Floyd confessed his love for her in the parlor of the Caperton's Elmswood plantation. The problem, though, was that Lin was quite young and had grown to know Floyd as a family friend. She was somewhat confused when his affections turned so grave and would probably have agreed with her father when he noted that she was too young even to know her own head aright.[10]

Standing proud in his new uniform, the soldier sketched above must have felt much like Tally Simpson, who had been excited early in the war by the attentions paid him by women, attentions that formed no little part of his enthusiasm for the war itself. Reproduced from Lamont Buchanan's *A Pictorial History of the Confederacy (1951).*

It was at this point that Floyd was swept into the army. There Lin became the center of his world. "The severities of the service softened by your influence are by no means unpleasant now," he wrote in one of his weekly letters, "and my duties no matter how irksome, when I think of you pass off as lightly as possible." "You and you alone engage my thoughts and the tenderest of my heart's joys," he noted in another. "Of you and you only…can I think, and dream, and live." Lin's letters to Floyd were more cautious, tepid. She could not return his love, she said, but she did appreciate it. "I know myself too well not *at least* to respect the love of your very generous heart," she told him. Even while respecting his heart, however, she sought to deflate it a little, as if it were some beautiful balloon, risen to dizzying heights on nothing but air. "Tis your own goodness…that can ascribe to me qualities which I regret sadly not to possess," she informed him, "but I will say nothing more upon this subject tho' I do feel so deeply."[11]

Lin's demure responses only complicated an already confusing situation for Floyd. Floyd claimed that his affection for Lin was perfectly "celestial." Undoubtedly, it was; but his missives also contain some rather earthy overtones. "I shudder! lest my love, in the innocence of its nudity, may press too much upon you," he wrote Lin in one letter. "I cannot resist making [confessions of love] whenever I commence writing you," he told her in another. "My pent-up emotions, always pressing to be relieved, rush to my pen, the moment I give them the slightest opportunity." Floyd was not aware of these overtones, of course. He would himself have been rather shocked at the nudity

North and South, women were seen as the sacred vessels that carried a Civilization's best qualities. *North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina.*

rushing in upon his celestial Lin. His was a torrential prose style; the words came in an ecstatic surge, undisciplined and unselfconscious. What was this thing that had seized him? He seemed powerless to stop it, powerless to explain it. Even when he tried, he seemed only able to pair his own inconsistencies with the word *yet.* "My heart is so full I do not know what to say, yet I am urged by a resistless desire to express myself." "How tiresome my confessions must be to you!... I feel it, yet I cannot resist." "I cannot see why I had any hope of your returning my affections and yet I would think you cruel if you did not." "I would do all, yet I dare not know what to do to win your heart. Can you not tell me?" But Lin could not tell him. There was after all nothing to tell. She did not love him. And yet she had become everything to Floyd. "Through vicissitudes and through grief," he wrote her, "through the din of cities and through the pleasures of home; through the changes of traveling by land and by sea; through the duties of garrisons and the long fatigue of marches; through the rain and cold of the midnight watch, through the camp and through disease, and through death I have ever loved you constantly, and with my whole heart!" The Confederacy could not warm him in the snow; slavery could not give him a reason to march; honor could not explain disease or death. Lin explained the war to Floyd; she made sense of it. He was fighting for her. "My devotion to you is based upon my love of country," he confessed, "for were it to be conquered, and disgraced, with what power, or with what conscience could I come forward to claim your hand? A degraded soldier I would seek obscurity in some distant hemisphere, never forgetting you, and, ever holding you dearest in my heart, I should live in the unhappy knowledge that you and my country had been taken from me by the force of arms alone." Lin sustained Floyd's war effort, through rain and snow, disease and death, until finally—after enough rain and snow, disease and death—she simply became his war effort.[12]

It was at this point that Lin's head righted itself, and she requested that Floyd not correspond with her anymore. Floyd was incredulous, furious—even though he had on occasion described his love for her as unrequited. "Dearest Miss Lin, my beloved, what can you mean? Have you raised me to Heaven merely to cast me out again?... Surely, surely you love me still. Oh!, I am too embittered to speak, yet I must write on." Floyd begged her to reconsider, or to at least postpone her decision. He needed from her only a shred to hope on, but that shred was essential. "Tomorrow, our Generals say we will have a battle here," he noted, shameless now. "What do you think will be my feelings when riding down the lines of action to be conscious that I have been discarded and disgraced for no reason by the one I love & whose honor I am fighting for?...Should some considerate ball find my heart, remember thro' life how I have loved you." But did he love her? Certainly he loved the opportunity she gave him to love himself, to know himself, to feel himself; and he loved the meaning she gave the war. But somewhere within his torrential prose lurked the truth. "At times when I have shut out all others save yourself from my mind," Floyd wrote his beloved, "I wonder whether I am laboring under a mental aberration or whether my dreams are real." Floyd did not want Lin, he wanted a dream; he wanted the version of her that helped him through the snow. And he expected her to give it to him. "I desire only to understand you," Floyd lied, "Yet I would rather remain in darkness than to be enlightened as to any conclusion of yours that would be disastrous to myself!! You see selfishness rules me still. I want you to tell me *all*, yet only that which is to render me happy! Oh, Miss Lin, what would life be without you? Surely it would be a day without a sun."[13]

Floyd King sustained himself on a romance he in part invented. Tally Simpson, a soldier in the 3rd South Carolina Volunteers, sustained himself on a romance he *wholly* invented. Tally had been excited early in the war by the attentions paid him by women, attentions that formed no little part of his enthusiasm for the war itself. "Ladies at little stations, and even in towns and cities," he wrote his sister of his trip to Richmond, "go up to the soldiers, any and every one, and converse with them as familiarly as old friends." Shortly thereafter, however, Tally's regiment settled into camp and suddenly there were no women at all, at least no available or respectable ones. His sense of womanlessness was further aggravated in 1862 when his brother and fellow volunteer Dick Simpson married and was discharged from the army due to ill health. Now trudging through the war alone, Tally became all the more envious of the married men around him; he was without prospects, and camp was no place to look for a wife. "I am entirely without a gal," he lamented, "my future is a blank, but if my life be spared and I reach home safely after peace has been declared, that blank shall be filled if there is any gal in all this big world fool enough to say y-e-s." Tally spent some time fantasizing about this as-yet faceless fool, but he needed some more fixed point on which to focus his imagination. Being rained on and shot at did not mean much without a woman. If Tally died before he found one, for what, for whom, would his life have been sacrificed?[14]

Ultimately, it was Tally's aunt who dispelled his ennui, writing richly embroidered missives about a young woman she felt would be perfect for him if ever they met. Tally was beside himself. "Your description of Miss Fannie is truly charming," he wrote his aunt gratefully, "and my feelings have already been enlisted in her favor. Tho you say it is impossible for me as any young man to fall in love with a girl without seeing her first...I place implicit confidence in what you say and [your letters] have created curious as well as pleasant feelings in my heart." After a few more of his aunt's let-

ters, Tally owned that he had completely fallen for Fannie, a woman he had never met and never corresponded with, a woman who quite possibly did not know his name and quite certainly did not know the depths of his feelings for her. Tally's sisters apprised him of the impropriety of loving a woman to whom he had not been introduced, and questioned whether he could know her character well enough to consider bringing her into the family. None of this mattered to Tally. "I picked up a pamphlet some time ago and found a portrait of a most magnificent looking lady," he wrote a cousin, "[and] I showed it to Harry, and he declared that it looked exactly like Miss F. I looked at it hard and studied it well. Then I cut it out and put it carefully away to look at it every now and then for my own gratification. It is before me now, and I imagine I see Miss F in all her glory." Tally did not need an actual woman; all her quirks and faults might even have gotten in the way. What he needed was a focal point on which to specify his love for women generally—and through them, his love for life. Miss Fannie suited this purpose admirably. Precisely because he did not know her, she became Everywoman, a divine amalgam of woman's best traits. Yet precisely because she did exist, out there, somewhere, drawing her beautiful breath from a place he longed to be, she helped to anchor his dreams of outliving the war. In flying to her, he flew home, a way he could not find so easily without her. Miss Fannie was Tally's life-wish, drawing its breath from a place beyond the camps and the killing. And *that* was a place worth defending. "Tis woman's influence that chastens the orator's eloquence," noted Tally, warming to his favorite subject, "that increases and exalts the statesman's patriotism and compels him to exert his great intellectual powers for the promotion of the nation's welfare. Tis her influence that nerves the arm and emboldens the heart of the warrior and causes him to give full utterance to the noble expression, 'Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori' [It is sweet and seemly to die for one's country]."[15]

Soldiers, then, began the war with a sense of simple synonymity between their love of woman and their love of country. They were encouraged in this by period propaganda, but it was a conflation they made easily, routinely, well before the war.

In "Tracks of the Armies" (1863), Adalbert Volck drew on the Southern fear that Yankees intended to ruin farms and families. Here a soldier is depicted returning to his tumbled-down house. His wife lies dead amid the rubble, bare-chested and clutching some strands of hair, presumably those of her rapist and murderer. *Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum.*

Men were accustomed to seeing women as an essential part of the masculine enterprise; women were witnesses to male becoming, sponsors who allowed a man to feel that his acts of self-love were acts of self-sacrifice, thus bolstering his self-belief. The Civil War amplified these basic dynamics, borrowing against the enormity of death to transform Love, Sacrifice, and Belief from the merest platitudes into the constituting elements of a man's life. The distracting mundanities of the antebellum period melted away and masculinity's twin drives—a love to fill the heart and a bid to live forever—were renewed, reenergized, and felt, perhaps for the first time, in all their purity and power.

Even early in the war, however, this cozy arrangement proved susceptible to certain pressures. Instead of facing Death, soldiers faced Inconvenience, Unpleasantness, and Discomfort, adversaries hardly more appropriate as a test of manhood than the ones they had faced in their prewar professions. Their comrades fortified their *will* to die (in maddened charges on entrenched enemies) but could not give them a *reason* to die. Only a woman could do this. So long as a man could see himself through the idealized eyes of a woman, he would continue to fight. If ever he could not, romance and patriotism, love of woman and love of country, might become disaggregated, and then he would be forced to choose between them.

By 1864, Confederate soldiers confronted exactly this choice. Early on, they had gloried in the war as a defensive struggle for their fields and firesides. As the Yankees began to occupy those fields and warm themselves before those fires, however, this defensive posture began to feel a very vulnerable one to many Confederates. Their sisters, mothers, and sweethearts were being occupied, after all, the people in whom they had vouchsafed the best of themselves and for whom (they were convinced) they were fighting in the first place. In the long stretches between battles, men helplessly far from home had all the time in the world to imagine the worst. "I wish you to keep [a] pistol loaded and capped," Edwin Fay instructed his wife precisely, "and if the Yankees come to Minden to wear it on your person, never be without it and the first one that dares insult you blow his brains out. This you must do or you are not the woman I married." Winston Stephens had the same concerns for his beloved Tivie: "One thing I do hope and ask of you don't let [the Yankees] get near enough to insult you—for my sake go from home back in the

By 1863 Confederate soldiers had grown somewhat accustomed to the idea that they might be killed. But as the Union army began to occupy the South, Confederate soldiers had a new worry—that their cause, embodied in their family back home, might be killed as well. *Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum.*

Country when they come. I had rather lose every thing in this world than to have you in their power."[16]

If the image of Yankees possessing their wives was disturbing, so too was the almost inexpressible fear that their wives might want to be possessed. "Already," remarked William Nugent, "there have occurred instances of nice young girls marrying Yankee officers...and in N.E. Miss. there are numberous cases [too] of illegitimacy among the wives...of soldiers who have been gallantly fighting in Virginia for two years." Illegitimacy is a concern in any war. Nothing is more harrowing to the soldier than to discover that while he is fighting to protect his wife's virtue, another man has taken her to bed. But the fear that the *enemy* might be sleeping with her has a psychological dimension all its own. Certainly the sense of betrayal is more acute. The wife has committed not merely adultery but, in giving aid and succor to the enemy, she has committed a marriage's equivalent of treason. But is there not also, buried deep in the self-doubting psyche of the soldier, a horrible fear that the enemy better deserves his wife's bed? Particularly for those soldiers whose homes have been occupied or are threatened with occupation, an important psychological battle has already been lost no matter what the outcome of the war. Each man has failed in his most basic function—protecting his family. Even if his house still stands and his wife is safely lodged with a relative, he experiences a kind of helplessness he has probably never known. Forced by circumstance to watch from afar as his home is disgraced, he feels a kind of self-loathing—did he really do his all to ensure that his wife was safe?—and in his self-loathing he may lead a Yankee to his wife's bed and force himself to watch this disgrace as well. "I often think what would become of you and Rosa if I should get killed," Winston Stephens wrote his wife, "for you would have nothing left you for a support as the Yankees would take your negroes from you leaving you nothing but a small peace of land in Marion and perhaps they would confiscate that. Then I think perhaps your Father might live through it and would perhaps take care of you, but then another thought pops in my brain and that is that you might be taken north and in a few years marry some Yankee that had been instrumental in destroying me! I want you to promise that no matter what befalls me that you will never marry a yankee, no matter what his calling or position." What is Stephens talking about? Why does he torture himself with this? Surely he knows that his wife would not let a Yankee in the door, much less into her bed. And yet he cannot seem to help it. The idea just, as he put it, popped into his brain. And this, of course, is Winston Stephens' death-wish. For being unworthy of his wife and manhood, this is how he must pay—dying with the knowledge that his wife, his life, his all, will take a Yankee lover.[17]

The decision to join the Confederate army, it has been suggested, was like a conversion experience—soldiers had only to give their assent and they were reborn, rechristened as defenders of the Confederate faith. Beginning in 1864, Confederate males like Winston Stephens began en masse to experience a sort of unconversion experience—they registered their varied dissents and reclaimed the project that was themselves from the project that was the Confederacy. As in their conversions, men bound women up in their unconversions, using them to explain to themselves why they wanted no longer to be soldiers.

The process was, to be sure, an individual one, and each man had his own sort of unconversion experience. For Joshua Callaway of the 28th Alabama it came in the form of an epiphany. Bivouacked near Missionary Ridge, Callaway convinced some of his friends to make the trek up to the top of Lookout Mountain. There they had a splendid view of the entire Chattanooga valley, and Callaway was struck by the fact that the poets and painters of future generations would stand exactly where he was standing "to have their geniuses inspired, and to immortalize the scene and the mountain in song and on canvas." Buoyed by such thoughts, Callaway felt a touch of the poet within himself: "While I was musing thus," he wrote his wife, "I could not help feeling a spark of ambition, a desire to make my name as immortal in future history and as classic as that of Lookout Mountain." But just at this moment, Callaway's eyes were arrested by a tiny figure emerging from a house on the valley floor, a general emerging from his headquarters. Callaway was flabbergasted. "I suppose he was a general," he told his wife, "but he looked so small, a mere speck, that I could not tell he was there at all if he had not moved. And when I compared him to the mountain and then to the universe, and thought of his pride and ambition, I could not help

smiling at his impetuosity and sighing at his insignificance. He reminded me of an ant trying to shake the earth, and my ambition cooled off and I would be perfectly content to be at home with my wife and never be thought of after I die."[18]

This portrait was found next to a dead Confederate soldier on the battlefield of Chancellorsville, May 3, 1863. Ambrotype, *Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond.*

For James Williams, a lieutenant colonel in the 21st Alabama, the process was much harder—reality did not pounce upon him, as it had Josh Callaway, but stalked him doggedly through the whole of the war. Williams was pleased enough with his early Confederate service. "What a strange exciting life this is!" he noted, "and how soon custom has made it easy—a year ago and I was a clerk writing in my books and a well fed, clean—peaceful man—Now I live out of doors, sometimes without a tent to shelter me from the weather, a dingy suit of clothes which have not been off longer than to take a bath for a week—my fare is fat bacon and heavy bread—my life is dangerous—and yet I sleep well at night as I used to do: and am happy too." Then came Shiloh. Williams was stunned. For just a moment, he buckled: "My absence of half a year has opened my eyes to the 'vanities and vexation of spirit' that await a man struggling, even successfully, in the mad pursuit of fame and position—and I will return to you [my wife] convinced that by your side, and there only can I be truly a happy man." But to Williams' great surprise other men had buckled too, perhaps more than he. For a struggling clerk, this was no mean realization. Could he be more a man than his supposed superiors? Had he not often suspected that it was so? "In active service incompetency falls from high places, too weak to maintain itself in the rush of accidents and events," he noticed, "and there the young and friendless soldier can win a place and a name." Screwing himself up to test the theory, Williams called boldly for "Action! Action! Let us have it! It is the way to live—and at worst it is there I would die." To be sure, Williams' experiences at Shiloh recurred on him—"a serious feeling has kept brooding over me since the battles" he confessed—but he willed such thoughts from his mind. "I have had a taste of danger and uncertainty," he explained, "and now I long for its excitement; as the tobacco chewer does for the nauseous leaf which custom has made sweet to the taste."[19]

Williams' seemingly simple story of ambition awakened has, as real-life stories often do, an important subplot. James Williams was born and raised in the North, where he grew up with loving sisters and brothers until 1858, when his father secured him a clerkship in Augusta, Georgia. There Williams met the seventeen-year-old belle Lizzy Rennison, whom he married and spirited off to Mobile so he could take up a new job as a bookkeeper for a silver company. For more than a year and right through Shiloh, Williams had made war on his former homeland, with only an occasional hiccup in his mental process. But on July 22, 1862, the anniversary of his leaving father and mother, brothers and sisters, weeping en masse, Williams awoke to the reality of his situation. "A host of painful recollections oppress me even admidst the rush of business," he wrote Lizzy, and "last night I childishly gave way to my feelings, and sat til after midnight before my tent—in a melancholy reverie." That night Williams felt as he had the few times he had stayed up to watch the dead (a nineteenth century practice of keeping the corpse company to make sure nothing untoward happened before burial). The spirits of his father, mother, sisters, and brothers, visited him in turn, and he ran over and over his memories of their parting. "I have never written these words before," he noted of his family's parting comments, "but they ring in my ears yet." Whatever his hopes for advancement, however gratifying it might have been to watch his supposed superiors buckling before him, Williams recognized too that there was something deeply flawed about the arena in which he had chosen to exercise his ambitions. "If tis home where'er the heart is," he claimed, "even the country against which I [am] standing arms has some claim to the 'dear and honored name of home.'" Williams would occasionally, even after his midnight reverie, clang his sword against his shield, but it always made a rather hollow sound. The war was over for him well before Appomattox. "The excitement and glory of war is a shadow," he concluded reluctantly, "I have been its willing slave—but oh! The pleasure of a happy home and a lovely wife and child—is a *reality* and not ignoble either."[20]

For Callaway and Williams and countless other Confederates the love of country and love of woman had become disaggregated by 1864. Their desire and their duty pulled them not to the battlefield but homeward; the war had proved not a glorious test of their manhood but a perversion of its basic tenets. "God grant I may never see another war," noted William Nugent. "Blood, butchery, death, desolation, robbery, rapine, selfishness, violence, wrong: a disregard for everything holy or divine, and a disposition to destroy constitute [only] some of the incidents of war. Nothing good comes of it. It is an unmixed evil." Willie Bryant echoed the sentiment. At its outset he had been electrified by the war: here was an adventure worthy of the rough-and-tumble of his manhood in the prime. If someone had asked him, he would have said that he was fighting to free the South from Northern tyranny (or something like that), but nobody asked him and he did not ask himself. "I want to be where there is something to encourage and stimulate a man," he noted instead, "I'll swear I pine for it, and it is playing the devil with my disposition; I must have active employment and the excitement to live." But as early as 1863, Bryant was singing a different tune. "I find that 'patriotism' is like every thing else in this d—d selfish world," he complained, "a devilish nice thing to talk about, beautiful theory, a clever humbug that deceived the 'soft ones,' but the *practice* is soon 'played out.'" The truth, of

course, is that it was Willie Bryant, not the 'soft ones,' who had been humbugged. War may make men, but it is far more likely to unmake them. Years pile on years, bodies upon bodies, and the soldier stands wondering where it will all end. "[We] are hardly allowed to sigh at the fall of our friends and relatives," Joshua Callaway concluded helplessly, "and if we do happen to shed a tear secretly, it is soon dried up to make room for one for some one else. We never will have time to contemplate and comprehend the horrors of this war until sweet, delightful peace is restored to us, & we can take a retrospective view."[21]

Joshua Callaway did not get the chance to take a retrospective view; he was killed in 1863 during a retreat from Missionary Ridge. We do have the chance to take a retrospective view; and we owe it to him and the millions of Americans who suffered through the Civil War to make some sense of their sacrifice. Scholars have variously explained why the Civil War soldier fought. He fought for causes. He fought for comrades. But just as important, he fought to be worthy of the woman he left behind. "A man's family is dearer to him than anything in the world," noted Edwin Fay, "at least mine is and 40 Confederates may go to the Devil if I am going to be kept away from all I hold dear for the rest of my life." William Nugent echoed the sentiment. "Dear as my country to me," he concluded, "yet dearer far is...[the] treasure [I have in] a little woman."[22] □

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The author wishes to thank Frances Hughes and Patrick Berry for their help in preparing this article.

NOTES:

1. James M. McPherson, *What They Fought For, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: 1994), p. 13.
2. Much of this analysis may be true for Union soldiers as well, but they are not the focus of this study.
3. Zerlina Peddy to George Peddy, October 27, 1863 in George Peddy Cuttino, ed., *Saddle Bag and Spinning Wheel: Being the Civil War Letters of George W. Peddy, M.D., Surgeon, 56th Georgia Volunteer Regiment, C.S.A. and His Wife Kate Featherston Peddy* (Macon, Georgia: 1981), p. 183.
4. George to Zerlina, August 3, 1862; George to Zerlina, December 3, 1861 in *Saddle Bag and Spinning Wheel*, 108-09, 18.
5. George to Zerlina, February 6, 1862, *Saddle Bag and Spinning Wheel*, 53.
6. For the notion of the self-motivated war I am indebted to William Barney, *Passage of the Republic* (Lexington, Kentucky: 1987), pp. 213-19.
7. John Floyd King to Lin Caperton, December 3, 1861 (Thomas Butler King Papers, *Southern Historical Collection,* University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).
8. William R. Weiss, Jr., *The Catalog of Union Civil War Patriotic Covers* (Bethlehem: W.R. Weiss, Jr., 1995); Hubert C. Skinner, Erin R. Gunter, and Warren H. Sanders, *The New Dietz Confederate States Catalog and Handbook* (Miami: 1986).
9. Nathaniel Dawson to Elodie Todd, December 18, 1861 (Nathaniel Dawson Papers, *Southern Historical Collection,* University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill); Mills Lane, ed., *"Dear Mother, don't grieve about me. If I get killed, I'll only be dead": Letters from Georgia Soldiers in the Civil War* (Savannah: 1977); Nathaniel Dawson to Elodie Todd, July 2, 1861 (Dawson Papers).
10. It is not exactly clear how the Capertons and Kings were acquainted, but the families were often in each other's company throughout the 1850s.
11. John Floyd King to Lin Caperton, August 4, 1861; Floyd to Lin, November 28, 1861; Lin to Floyd, September 15, 1861 all in the King Papers.
12. Floyd to Lin, February 14, 1860; Floyd to Lin, November 27, 1861; Floyd to Lin, January 9, 1862; Floyd to Lin, December 3, 1861 all in the King Papers.
13. Floyd to Lin, January 5, 1862; Floyd to Lin, November 27, 1861; Floyd to Lin, December 3, 1861 all in the King Papers.
14. Guy R. Everson and Edward H. Simpson, Jr., eds., *"Far, Far from Home": The Wartime Letters of Dick and Tally Simpson, Third South Carolina Volunteers* (New York: 1994), pp. 14-15, 141.
15. Everson and Simpson, Jr., eds., *"Far, Far from Home,"* 199, 259, 241.
16. Bell Irvin Wiley, ed., *This Infernal War: The Confederate Letters of Edwin H. Fay* (Austin, Texas: 1958), p. 292.
17. William M. Cash and Lucy Somerville Howorth, eds., *My Dear Nellie: The Civil War Letters of William L. Nugent to Eleanor Smith Nugent* (Jackson, Mississippi: 1977), pp. 164-65; Arch Fredric Blakey, Ann Smith Lainhart, and Winston Bryant Stephens, Jr., eds., *Rose Cottage Chronicles: Civil War Letters of the Bryant-Stephens Families of North Florida* (Gainesville: 1998), p. 310.
18. Judith Lee Hallock, ed., *The Civil War Letters of Joshua K. Callaway* (Athens, Georgia: 1997), pp. 161-62.
19. John Kent Folmar, ed., *From That Terrible Field: Civil War Letters of James M. Williams, Twenty-First Alabama Infantry Volunteers* (University, Alabama: 1981), pp. 56-57, 68, 90, 92-93.
20. John Kent Folmar, ed., *From That Terrible Field*, 100, 130.
21. Cash and Howorth, eds., *My Dear Nellie*, 148; Blakey, et al., eds., *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 208-09; Hallock, ed., *The Civil War Letters of Joshua K. Callaway*, 44-45.
22. Wiley, ed., *This Infernal War*, 18; Cash and Howorth, eds., *My Dear Nellie*, 128-29.

*THE GIRL I LEFT BEHIND ME**

The hours sad I left a maid
A lingering farewell taking
I thought her heart was breaking
In hurried words her name I blest
I breathed the vows that bind me
And to my heart in anguish pressed
The girl I left behind me

Then to the east we bore away
To win a name in story
And there where dawns the sun of day
There dawned our sun of glory
The place in my sight
When in the host assigned me
I shared the glory of that fight
Sweet girl I left behind me

Though many a name our banner bore
Of former deeds of daring
But they were of the day of yore
In which we had no sharing
But now our laurels freshly won
With the old one shall entwine me
Singing worthy of our size each son
Sweet girl I left behind me

The hope of final victory
Within my bosom burning
Is mingling with sweet thoughts of thee
And of my fond returning
But should I n'eer return again
Still with thy love I'll bind me
Dishonors breath shall never stain
The name I leave behind me.

*The origins of "The Girl I Left Behind Me" are Irish and English. One story—perhaps apocryphal—is that during the New Orleans Campaign of 1814-1815 the U.S. Seventh Infantry Regiment captured a British soldier who was whistling or singing the song. The "captured" song remains the regimental march to this day, and is also played at West Point at the final parade before graduation. Of the many versions, we chose to reproduce the one above because of its timeless quality: it could be sung in any war at any time.

Civil War Society News

IN THIS COLUMN IN THE LAST ISSUE we stated that membership packets would be mailed in November. However, we were swamped at that time with new subscriptions, back issue orders, etc., and the packages did not go out. By the time you read this the calendars (executive members only) will have been mailed, and the rest of the items should be following. Apologies for the delay.

The coming year will be an exciting one for the Society. The annual conference theme will be "Who Were the Top Ten Generals," a topic likely to excite plenty of argument. Tentative plans are for the event to be held at the Army and Navy Club in Washington D.C., one weekend in August. In July we plan a major presence at the 140th Gettysburg reenactment, at which copies of *North & South* Volume 6, #6 will be available. The entire issue will be devoted to the Gettysburg Campaign, with contributions from Stephen Sears, Earl Hess, and other leading historians. The issue will probably include a 22" x 17" pullout map of the battle; we are exploring the possibility of including similar maps in *every* issue of *North & South*. September will see a tour of parts of the Gettysburg battlefield, and a visit to the Peninsula is planned for October. Details of all these events will be included in the Society newsletter which mails in the first half of January.

Next issue watch out for this logo. When you see it on an advertisement in the magazine, it means that advertiser is offering a discount to Society members. Also watch this column for details of the booklet containing the talks given at the 2002 annual conference on the theme "Could the Confederacy Have Won." As we go to press we are exploring publishing the contents of *North & South*, Volume 2, #6 (The "Retreat from Gettysburg" special) in booklet form, for sale through National Park Service and other outlets. Again, watch this column for details.

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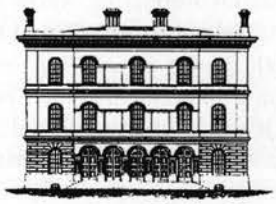

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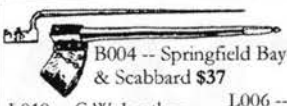

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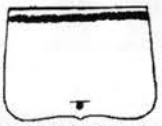

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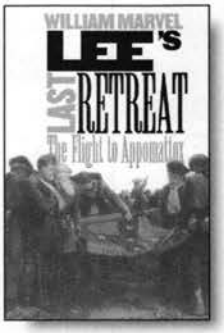

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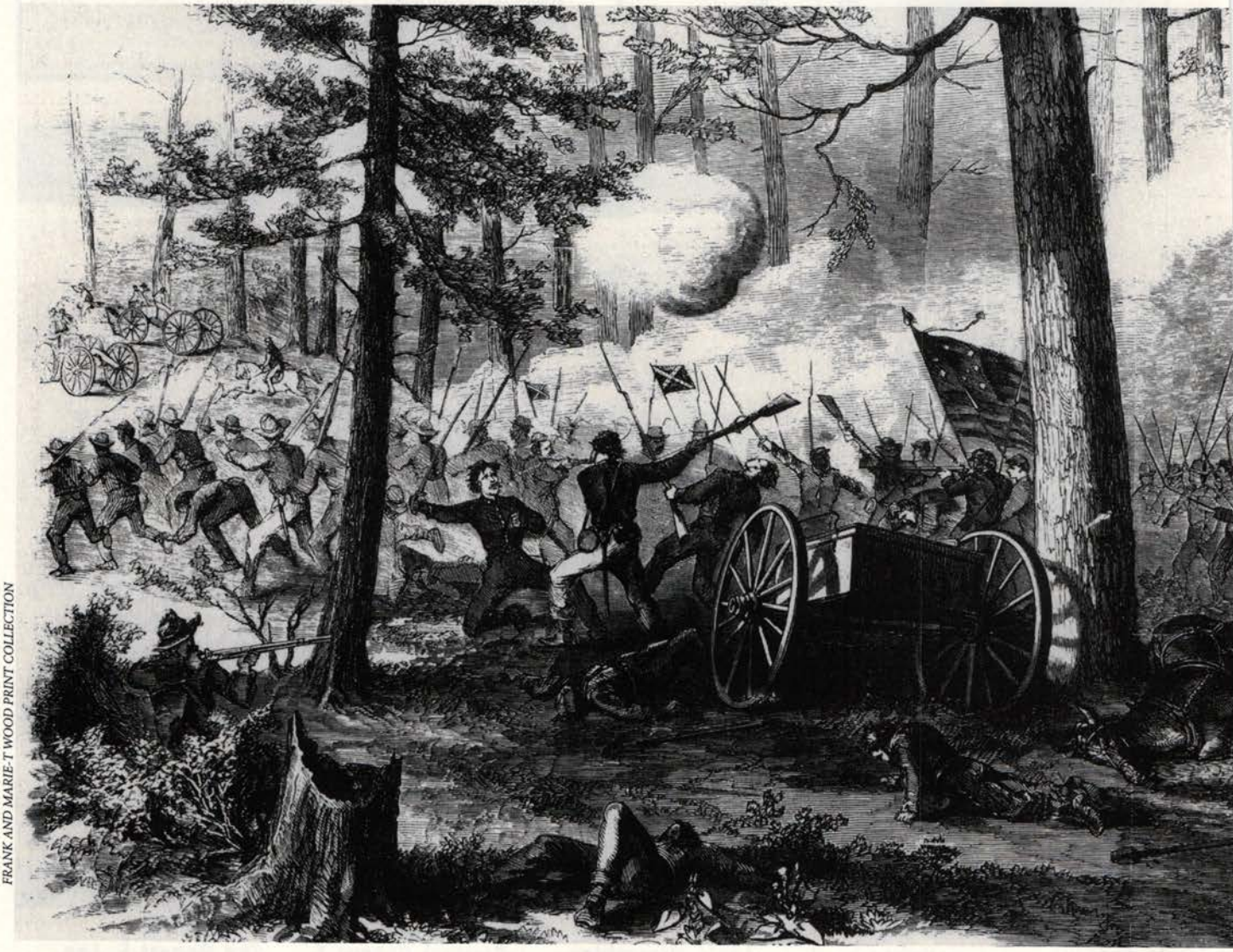

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In the James E. Taylor sketch above, a flank attack by the First Division of the Union XVII Corps overruns a Confederate artillery position during the third day of the Battle of Bentonville.

ON THE AFTERNOON of March 18, 1865, Major General William T. Sherman's 60,000-strong Union army appeared to be within two days of completing its 425-mile march from Savannah, Georgia, to Goldsboro, North Carolina. At Goldsboro Sherman's army would combine with the 30,000 Federals under Major General John M. Schofield advancing inland from New Bern and Wilmington, giving Sherman a total of 90,000 troops with which to reinforce Union general-in-chief Ulysses S. Grant at Richmond and Petersburg, Virginia. If the vastly outnumbered Confederate army in eastern North Carolina commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston hoped to attack the Union juggernaut under Sherman with any prospect of success, it would have to do so by striking an isolated Yankee column before it could reach Goldsboro. Fortunately for the Confederates, Sherman had divided his army into two wings to take maximum advantage of the Carolinas' meager road network and to enable the army to live

MARK L. BRADLEY

BENTONVILLE

off the sparsely settled countryside. Sherman's Right Wing (Army of the Tennessee) was moving on roads to the south of the Left Wing (Army of Georgia) commanded by Major General Henry W. Slocum. On March 18 Sherman was traveling with Slocum's wing because it was nearer to Johnston's army concentrating at Smithfield eighteen miles to the north. Many Federal soldiers, including Lieutenant John Marshall Branum of the 98th Ohio, believed that the threat of a Rebel attack had passed. "We feel in excellent spirits," Branum wrote in his diary on the eighteenth. "Everything promises for a smooth entry into Goldsboro." Indeed, the consensus was that soap, clean clothes, new shoes, and mail from home were almost within their grasp.[1]

On the other hand, Union Brigadier General William P. Carlin later recalled that he did not share Branum's complacency. In fact, Carlin was convinced that the Confederates were planning to attack the Left Wing somewhere near Bentonville on the Goldsboro Road. While on the march, Carlin spied numerous Confederate scouts shadowing the column, and the enemy's cavalry was skirmishing with uncharacteristic stubbornness. But it was the behavior of a farmer and his family that Carlin found most compelling.[2]

At noon Sherman and Slocum stopped at a roadside farmhouse. Carlin recalled that after lunch, the two generals stood in the front yard talking with his immediate superior, XIV Corps commander Jefferson C. Davis. As a mere division commander, Carlin did not feel free to join in the conversation uninvited. Instead, Carlin sat on the veranda with the occupants of the farmhouse. He recalled that the children were crying loudly, and that the husband and wife "seemed to have been weeping, as their eyes were still red." Carlin assumed that the family was distraught over their probable fate at the hands of marauding Yankees. When Carlin offered them a safeguard and a store of provisions, the farmer shook his head and muttered, "Oh, that won't save us." Carlin inferred that the Rebels had told the man that a battle would occur on or near his farm, and that he dreaded the worst.[3]

The division commander whispered his suspicions to Davis, who conveyed them to Sherman. According to Carlin, Sherman replied, "Oh, no, they will not fight us till we get near Smithfield or Raleigh." Carlin was astonished at Sherman's response, for all the signs indicated that a battle was imminent. "I never was so sure of any coming event," Carlin later recollected, "except the rising of the sun on the next morning, as I was that we were to have a battle on the 19th of March, 1865."[4]

Yet, contrary to Carlin's postwar recollection, a mid-afternoon dispatch that Sherman wrote to the commander of the Right Wing, Major General Oliver O. Howard, indicates that "Uncle Billy" expected a Confederate attack: "I think it probable that Joe Johnston will try to prevent our getting Goldsboro." Only later in the day did Sherman let his guard down, after receiving reports from his cavalry and skirmishers that the Confederates were withdrawing toward Raleigh.[5]

Carlin's account, in which he portrayed himself as the lone voice of futile warning, was challenged by several veterans of the battle, who described a far different Carlin from the heroic figure who inhabits the general's recollections. The purpose of this article is to sort the fact from the fiction in Carlin's narrative and to construct a plausible account of his role in the Battle of Bentonville—a battle that haunted him for the remaining thirty-eight years of his life.

WILLIAM PASSMORE CARLIN was born in Carrollton, Illinois, on November 24, 1829, and in 1846 was appointed to the U.S. Military Academy by Congressman Stephen A. Douglas. Carlin was an average student, graduating twentieth in the class of 1850, but he would serve as an infantry officer for nearly fifty years. Carlin's prewar career was mostly occupied with frontier duty, in which he saw action against the Sioux and the Cheyenne, and served in Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston's Mormon expedition. A regular army captain when the Civil

War broke out, Carlin was appointed colonel of the 38th Illinois Volunteer Infantry on August 15, 1861. Carlin and the 38th Illinois were transferred to Missouri, where he became embroiled in a dispute over rank with a fellow colonel—a portent of far more serious conflicts with a superior officer. By mid-1862 Carlin commanded a brigade in Jefferson C. Davis' XX Corps division. Carlin's skillful and aggressive handling of his brigade in the Battle of Perryville impressed his superiors, and soon afterward, he was promoted to brigadier general.[6]

At Stones River Carlin's brigade was driven from the field on the first day, but his command fought tenaciously nonetheless. After the battle, Carlin complained that his superior, General Davis, had failed to give him and his brigade the credit they deserved and had improperly meddled with his troop deployments. Carlin thus touched off a feud with Davis that steadily worsened, culminating in Carlin's urging Army of the Cumberland commander William S. Rosecrans to remove Davis. At Chickamauga, Carlin's brigade was once again driven from the field, but Carlin managed to rally his troops and lead them in good order back to Chattanooga. His after-action report was little more than a thinly disguised diatribe against Davis, whom he accused, among other things, of directing friendly artillery fire against his own troops. Rosecrans thereupon transferred Carlin to the XIV Corps, where he served capably as a brigade and division commander. He demonstrated his boldness to best effect during the XIV Corps' rout of Cleburne's division at Jonesboro. By now Carlin had earned a reputation as a hard-hitting combat officer who was invaluable in a crisis but whose petulance made him a continual annoyance to his superiors.

Given the choice of serving with Major General George H. Thomas in Tennessee or with Sherman on the March to the Sea, Carlin chose the latter assignment, though it left him once again under the despised Davis, who now commanded the XIV Corps. Carlin subsequently rued his decision. "During the whole of the Georgia and Carolina Campaigns I have been compelled to feel that I was under the command of an enemy," he later confided to Sherman. "I was convinced that if an opportunity should occur he would ruin my reputation." Nevertheless, Carlin chose to remain in command of the First Division of the XIV Corps. "For many days, I seriously thought of leaving the Corps when [Davis] was assigned to command of it . . . ," Carlin wrote, "but regretting to part with troops I had commanded and known so long[,] I decided to hold on and endeavor to avoid difficulty with him." Thus matters stood between Carlin and Davis on the eve of the Battle of Bentonville; according to Carlin they were barely on speaking terms, which boded ill for the army in the event of a pitched battle.[7]

Carlin recalled that Sunday, March 19, dawned a beautiful spring morning. "The sun shone brightly," he remembered. "A few thin, pink-tinted clouds rested near the horizon." Carlin was awakened before reveille by the firing of foragers, who had collided with Confederate cavalry barely beyond the Federal camps. "Never before had they been checked immediately on leaving camp," Carlin noted. "Being fully convinced that a battle was to take place that day, I dressed myself in my best uniform." Carlin explained that he did so because he wanted to be identified by his proper rank in the event he was killed or captured. Of course a veteran officer such as Carlin would have realized that a general on horseback in a dress uniform among soldiers clad in rags would make an inviting target for a sharp-eyed Confederate; perhaps Carlin was concealing his real motive for donning a dress uniform.[8]

On the morning of March 17, Carlin's division had been assigned the advance of the Left Wing. Having brought up the rear for several days on muddy roads that had been churned up by the rest of the column, Carlin and his men eagerly anticipated marching in the advance. But Carlin soon discovered that the Second Division under Brigadier General James D. Morgan had taken a short cut and had stolen the advance from him. A furious Carlin protested to Morgan, but the latter told him that he was simply obeying Davis' orders. Carlin already suspected that Davis and his favorite division commander, Jimmy Morgan, were in collusion against him. Neither man was a West Pointer, which must have fueled Carlin's suspicion. Carlin was determined to have his revenge at the earliest opportunity.[9]

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Brigadier General William P. Carlin

Carlin's opportunity came on the morning of March 19, for his division had the Left Wing's advance. At 7:00 a.m. Carlin led the way, decked out in his dress uniform, passing between the waiting ranks of Morgan's division. Carlin's troops followed, marching in column of fours, arms right shoulder shift, with regimental flags flying and bands playing national airs. Carlin indulged in this display of pomp as a dig at Morgan for stealing the advance from him, indicating that he was more preoccupied with getting even in a petty squabble than with bracing for battle.[10]

Carlin's lead brigade under Brigadier General Harrison C. Hobart soon approached the XIV Corps' foragers, who had been skirmishing with Confederate cavalry for several hours. Carlin recalled that General Slocum arrived at that point and assumed personal control of the march, directing Carlin to deploy three regiments of Hobart's brigade to drive off the Rebel cavalry.[11]

Meanwhile, Major James Taylor Holmes of the 52nd Ohio, a regiment in Morgan's division, rode up to brief Carlin on the situation at the front. Although Holmes enjoyed nothing more than putting the crack 52nd Ohio through its paces on the drill field, he was far more than a parade ground soldier. As the commander of the foraging detail attached to Brigadier General Benjamin D. Fearing's brigade, Holmes had the unenviable task of keeping track of more than two hundred high-spirited foragers. Yet he was a conscientious com-

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Major General William T. Sherman (left) and General Joseph E. Johnston.

mander who had earned the respect of both his superior officers and his men.[12]

On March 18 Holmes' detail had skirmished continually with Dibrell's division, the same Confederate cavalry it faced on the morning of the 19th. Holmes had reported that the Rebel horsemen stubbornly refused to budge, and that he therefore expected the Rebels to put up a fight the next day. Neither division commander Morgan nor brigade commander Fearing agreed with Holmes' assessment. As Holmes prepared to ride out before dawn on March 19, Morgan told the major that he expected him to be in Goldsboro by sundown. Holmes replied that he did not think that would be possible. "You'll go right in, young man," Morgan insisted. Morgan's complacency, combined with the general's dismissal of his report the previous night, left Holmes feeling "out of humor."[13]

If Holmes expected a sympathetic hearing from Carlin, he was in for a rude awakening. As the two officers rode to the front, Holmes informed Carlin that his foraging detail had "pushed down on Johnston's line . . . and developed both musketry and artillery." Several of Holmes' men were within earshot of Carlin and recalled that he "pooh poohed the idea of infantry being in his front, and did not propose to be delayed in his movements by cavalry." Once Hobart's brigade had deployed, Carlin turned to Holmes and said, "Get your damned bummers out of the way, and I will drive the rebels out with a skirmish line!" This was a far cry from the Carlin who believed beyond question that a pitched battle was imminent. In any event, one of Holmes' men, Private Cyrus Fox of the 86th Illinois, recalled that Carlin's peremptory order "somewhat 'riled' the Major." Holmes managed to control his temper, however; he rode back to his command and ordered it to make way for Hobart's brigade.[14]

At first Carlin appeared to be right, for Hobart's skirmishers easily drove back the dismounted Confederate cavalry—that is, until the Rebels reached the open fields of the Willis Cole plantation. At that point the Southern horsemen fired a parting volley at their pursuers and withdrew into a dense wood. Without warning the treeline erupted with flame and smoke as the massed infantry and artillery of Hoke's division unleashed a devastating fire on Hobart's line. The Federals hit the ground or scurried for cover behind the Cole house and outbuildings. Hobart's brigade was divided into two wings: one wing held the Cole field north of the Goldsboro Road, and the other deployed in the fields and woods to the south. Dense undergrowth along the roadside concealed each wing from the other, so Hobart chose to let them operate as independent commands for the rest of the day.[15]

Carlin initially supervised the deployment of his troops south of the road, but it soon became apparent to him that the Cole field north of the road was the key to his position. The Cole field proved untenable, however. The three regiments of Hobart's brigade north of the road quickly abandoned the shot-torn field and deployed along the lip of a swampy ravine just to the north. About five hundred yards north of Hobart's new line, the 4,500-man remnant of the once-mighty Army of Tennessee also went into position. Unbeknown to Slocum, the Confederates were deploying for an all-out offensive, but in Joe Johnston's words, the deployment "consumed a weary time."[16]

As the fighting intensified, Slocum ordered Carlin to deploy his Second Brigade under Brigadier General George P. Buell north of the road and the Third Brigade under Lieutenant Colonel David Miles to the south. Within a few hours Carlin's deployment had escalated from a slender skirmish line to all three of his brigades and two artillery batteries. Nor was that all: by late morning the three brigades of Morgan's division were moving into position on Carlin's right.

Nevertheless, Slocum remained confident that he faced nothing more than a large force of Confederate cavalry and a few cannon. Believing that Sherman (who had ridden down to join the Right Wing early that morning) would hear the firing and fear the worst, Slocum sent a courier to assure the commanding general that there was no need for him to send reinforcements, and that Slocum still expected to reach the Neuse River that evening as planned.

Anxious to meet his timetable, Slocum ordered the XX Corps to hurry forward so that he could deploy it on Morgan's right "with a view of turning the left of the enemy's position." He also instructed Carlin and Morgan "to press the enemy closely and force him to develop his position and strength." Rather than launch a full-scale assault as Slocum directed, Davis instructed Carlin to make a probing attack using only Buell's brigade (Morgan's division was just going into position when Slocum issued his order and would have been unavailable). "In order to multiply the chances of success," Carlin ordered one wing of Hobart's brigade to support Buell's assault against the Army of Tennessee contingent. Carlin also directed Miles' brigade to attack Hoke's division south of the Goldsboro Road.

Carlin's probing assault commenced at noon, and his troops suffered a bloody repulse. At one point the 13th Michigan

of Buell's brigade appeared on the verge of breaking through the Confederate line, until the 13th's commander, Major Willard Eaton, was killed instantly by a bullet through the brain and the regiment's color bearer fell by his side with a severe wound. The failed probing attack resulted in several hundred Federal casualties and succeeded only in developing a strong but undetermined force of Confederate infantry and artillery in Carlin's front. Although Slocum was persuaded that he "had to deal with something more formidable than a division of cavalry," he refused to believe that the unknown force posed a serious threat to his command. In truth, Carlin's attack was not an utter failure, for it would yield a fortuitous source of information that would convince Slocum of the danger confronting him at Bentonville.[17]

Carlin deemed the prisoner's information to be of such importance that he placed the youth on his own gray stallion, Rosy (so named in honor of General Rosecrans), and sent him off to Slocum under the watchful eye of his adjutant, Capt. James E. Edmonds. The prisoner repeated his story to Slocum, who questioned him closely. Slocum soon learned that the youth was a native of Syracuse, New York, which also happened to be Slocum's hometown. The

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MICHIGAN STATE ARCHIVES

Brigadier General James D. Morgan (left) and Major Willard G. Eaton.

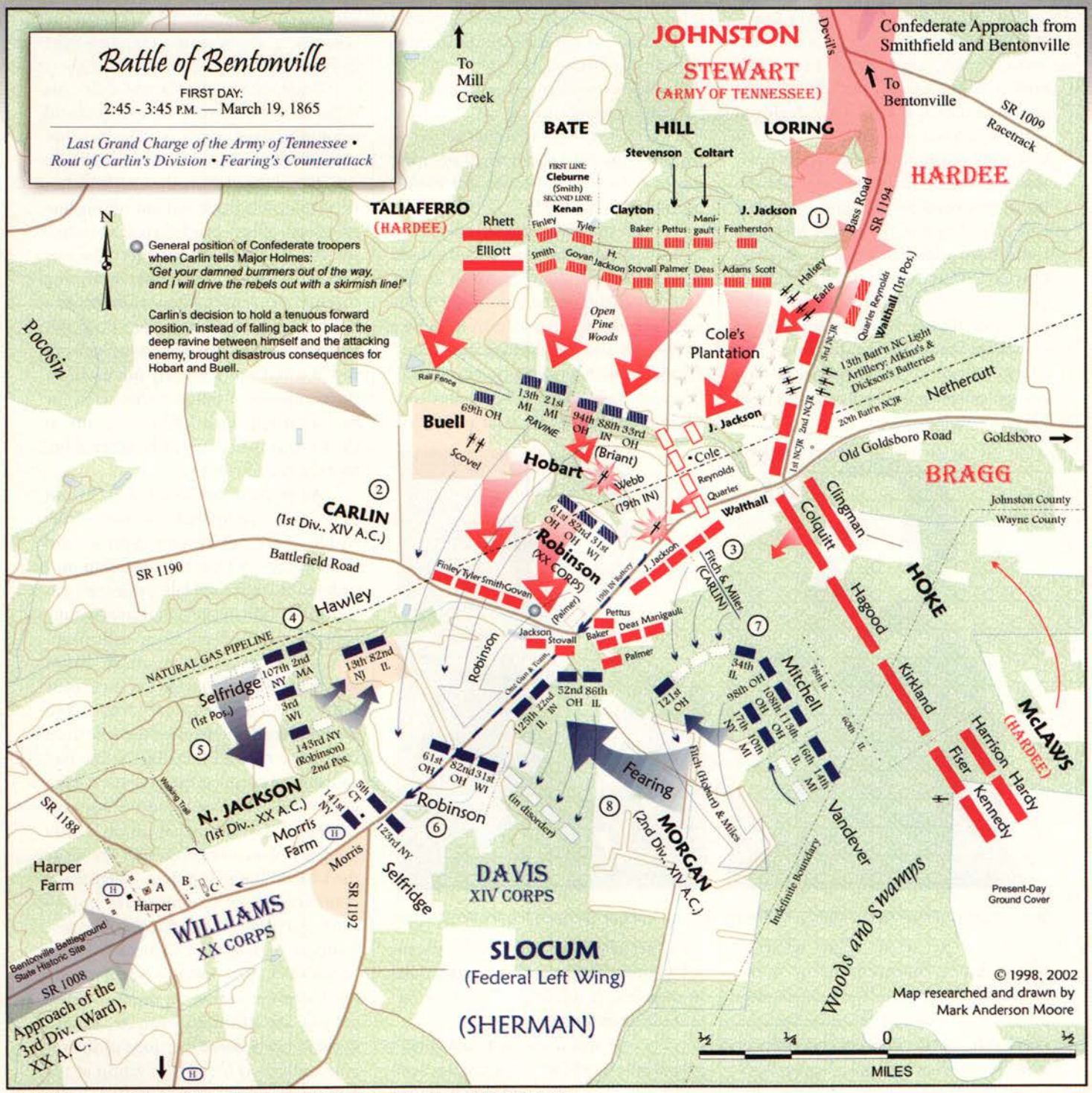
While the weary survivors of the noon probing attack strengthened their fieldworks, an officer presented three emaciated prisoners to Carlin. The spokesman of the trio stepped forward and insisted that he be taken to the commanding general at once. When Carlin replied that he was the officer in command at that point, the young prisoner told him that he and his two friends were Union soldiers who had been captured, and that they had agreed to enlist in the Confederate army rather than rot in a Southern prison. But they had done so, the youth insisted, with the intention of deserting and rejoining the Union army at the first opportunity. Of even greater interest to Carlin was the prisoner's statement that he had seen Joe Johnston ride among his soldiers and make speeches "calculated to incite the troops to desperate efforts to overthrow the left wing of Sherman's army." According to the youth, Johnston had 40,000 troops and planned to crush the Left Wing at Bentonville and then destroy the Right Wing before it could reach Goldsboro.[18]

general was therefore able to verify much of his story. One of Slocum's staff officers—yet another resident of Syracuse—happened to ride up during Slocum's interrogation and immediately recognized his fellow townsman in tattered gray. If Slocum required further evidence of his predicament, it was provided by Lieutenant Colonel Henry G. Litchfield, the inspector general of the XIV Corps, who had just returned from the front. In answer to Slocum's query as to the situation, Litchfield said, "Well, General, I have found something more than Dibrell's cavalry—I find infantry intrenched along our whole front, and enough of them to give us all the amusement we shall want for the rest of the day."[19]

Slocum immediately sent a staff officer galloping off with a dispatch informing Sherman of his situation. "I am convinced that the enemy are in strong force in my front," Slocum wrote at 1:30 p.m. "Prisoners report Johnston, Hardee, Hoke, and otherspresent. They say their troops are just coming up. I shall strengthen my position and feel of their lines, but I hope you will come up on their left rear in strong force." Realizing that the Right Wing was at least a day's march from Bentonville, Slocum shifted to the defensive. The New York prisoner's report that Johnston had 40,000 troops at Bentonville (double his actual strength) reinforced Slocum's decision to dig in and await the expected Confederate onslaught. The Left Wing commander held Carlin and Morgan at the front to absorb the initial shock while he deployed the two available divisions of the XX Corps on more defensible ground at the Reddick Morris farm about a mile to the rear.[20]

Meanwhile, Carlin's and Morgan's troops dug in deeper and kept a sharp eye on the half-visible Confederate line that stretched for more than a mile in their front. General Davis ordered Carlin to make another demonstration to keep the enemy occupied, but Carlin chose not to do so, believing that the remaining time would be more profitably spent entrenching.

About this time Lieutenant William Ludlow, Slocum's engineering officer, approached Carlin with a suggestion for a new deployment. Slocum had sent Ludlow to evaluate the strength of Carlin's position north of the Goldsboro Road, and the lieutenant did not like what he saw. Noting the swampy ravine just behind Carlin's line, Ludlow advised the general to fall back and place the ravine between himself and the enemy. In doing so, Carlin would also connect with the three regiments of Robinson's XX Corps brigade that were deploying on the western edge of the Cole field. But Carlin chose to remain where he was and prepare for a Confederate flanking movement reported by General Buell. "Being confident of my ability to hold my position until the troops in rear should come up," Carlin asserted, "I decided not to fall back, but made dispositions to fortify my left flank against movements of the enemy in that direction."[21]



(1) At 2:45 p.m., Hardee launches a full-scale Confederate attack with the Army of Tennessee and Taliaferro's Division.

(2) On the left of Carlin's Federal division, the troops of Buell and Briant (Hobart) are sent reeling backward toward the Morris Farm. Carlin's ranks are punished severely while negotiating the southern bank of the fence-lined ravine which had earlier protected the men from Hoke's artillery. With his position rendered untenable by the flight of Carlin's division, Robinson pulls his command back under fire to the Morris Farm. Taliaferro passes unopposed beyond Buell's left flank.

(3) South of the Goldsboro Road, the right half of Carlin's line (Fitch and Miles) caves in toward Morgan's position. Confederate troops under Hill and Loring quickly descend upon Webb's battery, capturing three guns. The fourth gun and team of the battery is steered into the road and saved by Pvt. Peter Anderson, 31st Wisconsin Infantry.

(4) When the battle erupts on Carlin's front, Hawley's 13th New Jersey and the 82nd Illinois (Robinson) are sent out to prolong Hawley's line to the right. As Carlin's troops fall back in defeat from Cole's Farm, the 13th and 82nd try in vain to rally their stampeding comrades. Though a few stay on the line, the main body of Carlin's division passes to the rear in disorder, finished for the day as an effective fighting force.

(5) To help provide a rallying point, Selfridge swings southward and deploys astride the Goldsboro Road.

(6) Robinson falls back and takes position across the road in front of Selfridge.

(7) South of the road, Mitchell's brigade (Morgan) struggles to keep a front toward the enemy as the fleeing ranks of Fitch and Miles are driven into its lines. Mitchell forms a sharp-angled salient, anchored on the right by the 34th Illinois and on the left by the 121st Ohio. Between Mitchell's two regiments are disorganized elements of Fitch and Miles, many of whom continue to stream out of action toward a swamp to the south.

(8) Around 3:30 p.m., Fearing's brigade (Morgan) is rushed to the left to stem the tide of the advancing Confederates. Fearing collides with troops from Hill's Corps, who bear heavily upon his front and right flank. The 52nd Ohio and 86th Illinois break under the pressure and Fearing's line crumbles, falling back in disorder to the south and west.

These actions set the stage for the Confederate high tide at Bentonville: a series of unsuccessful attacks on Morgan's division, Cogswell's XX Corps brigade south of the Goldsboro Road, and the main XX Corps line at Morris's Farm. The first day's battle ends in a tactical draw.

(A) Visitor Center, Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site.

(B) Area of Texas and North Carolina monuments.

(C) Monument at Confederate mass grave, erected by the Goldsboro Rifles in 1893. Harper family cemetery is north of monument.

▪ ***Principal wartime dwellings:*** John Harper, Reddick Morris, and Willis Cole

(H) Federal field hospital locations

FEDERAL POSITIONS:

- Federal Infantry
- Positions of Buell, Briant (Hobart), and Robinson when attacked by the Army of Tennessee
- Fearing's retired position

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS:

- Confederate Infantry
- 1st position, Army of Tennessee
- Position of Loring's Confederates when flanking Briant (Hobart)

MAIN ROADS STILL REFLECT WARTIME ROUTES IN THE BATTLE AREA

Mark Anderson Moore

Of Carlin's dispositions, XIV Corps chief of staff Lieutenant Colonel Alexander C. McClurg later wrote that the First Division was "very much extended and attenuated. It had been deployed without reference to any such force as that which now confronted it; its position was weak, and its strength had been much impaired by the serious work it had already gone through." McClurg could have added that Carlin also was heavily outnumbered, and that both of his flanks north of the road were "in the air," meaning that Carlin's flanks made no connection with friendly troops and could easily be bypassed by an attacking enemy, resulting in the envelopment of his position.[22]

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Lieutenant Colonel Alexander C. McClurg (left) and Major General Henry W. Slocum.

At 2:45 p.m. the long gray and butternut line of Johnston's Army of the South moved forward. The Confederates advanced in good order, shrieking the rebel yell. Carlin was on the right of Buell's line when the attack began; three regiments of Hobart's brigade were dug in on Carlin's right. As the Southerners swept around Hobart's right flank and burst into the Cole field, Hobart's line collapsed under the sheer weight of overwhelming numbers. "They came down upon us like an avalanche," recalled an Indiana veteran of Hobart's brigade. The retreat soon degenerated into a rout, as hundreds of fleeing Federal soldiers splashed across the swamp and then clambered up the ravine's muddy southern slope. Many of them never made it beyond the ravine. "[O]ne man was Shot down right by my side," wrote an Ohio private who survived the ordeal. "[A]nother poor fellow was shot in the back of the Head and the ball come out at his nose and had tore his nose almost entirely off . . . . I did not know but Every moment would be my last, and put an end to all my fond hopes of Ever seeing home and friends again in this world."[23]

While Hobart's panicked troops fled to the rear, Buell's men managed to hold the Confederates in their front at bay. Unfortunately for the Federals, defending their exposed flanks proved to be a different matter. "We held our position," recalled a Michigan lieutenant in Buell's brigade, "keeping up a rapid and continuous fire, until we could plainly see their trap closing around us as they enveloped our flanks and subjected them to their fire. It was impossible to maintain our position."[24]

No one was more aware of Buell's precarious position than Carlin, who had been pacing up and down Buell's line, awaiting word from one of his couriers or for the return of Captain Edmonds and Rosy. Carlin stopped near the left flank of Buell's line, where he watched the Rebels—Taliaferro's division of Hardee's corps—advance across an open field and in the woods beyond Buell's left flank, "but [I] saw no need of retreating." He then walked over to Buell's right, where the situation appeared less threatening than it was on the left. "The enemy," Carlin noted, "had advanced to within 30 steps of Buell's line on the right and halted." A Michigan soldier observed Carlin at this time and called him "as cool a man in a fight as I ever saw."[25]

Buell, however, did not share his superior's confidence that they could maintain their position. The brigade commander believed that it was simply a matter of time before the Confederates turned his left flank and cut off his line of retreat. When Buell turned to examine the situation on his right, he was shocked to see Confederates swarming through the woods where Hobart's line had been only moments before. Buell also saw that Carlin "was just at the right of my line, but was evidently not aware of the condition of things to his right, for he was at that time looking intently to the front at the enemy as he faltered before the fire of my men."

An anxious Buell waited for Carlin to act, but "seeing that too much delay would cause our certain capture, and there being no time for consultation, I ordered the retreat. Half a minute's delay, and Carlin, myself, and most of my brigade would have been captured." While Buell ordered the retreat, Carlin was firing the rifle-musket of a nervous soldier in an effort to steady him. When Carlin turned and handed the rifle to its owner, he noticed that Buell's line had vanished. As soon as the nervous soldier grasped his rifle, he raced off after his comrades. "I was absolutely alone," Carlin recalled. "Not an officer or man who wore the Union blue was in sight. There was a compact line of Confederates not 30 yards from me. I was dressed in a new uniform of Brigadier-General." Carlin considered surrendering but abruptly dismissed the notion. In order to avoid calling attention to himself, Carlin walked slowly down the slope of the ravine until he reached the swamp at the bottom. A Federal soldier spotted Carlin as he sprawled in the middle of the swamp to avoid a hail of Rebel bullets. Pointing to the general, the soldier turned to his comrades and quipped, "use him as a stepping stone to cross dry shod."[26]

Carlin left the relative safety of the swamp and began scrambling up the slope, where he came into view of the pursuing Confederates. "It was then that a regular fusilade . . . was opened on me," he recalled, "cutting the twigs and bushes all around me, and throwing up black dirt around my feet; even the earth under my feet seemed to be cut away by the

bullets." For the second time in minutes, Carlin considered surrendering to the Confederates, but a sudden lull in their fire convinced him to press on after his command. At that point, Carlin resolved to surrender only if he were struck down by a Rebel bullet.[27]

From this point Carlin's narrative assumes a surreal quality. Happening upon a squad of eight soldiers from the 31st Wisconsin of Robinson's brigade, Carlin suggested that they use "the Chinese system of noise" to delay the Confederate offensive. "In accordance with this idea," Carlin recalled, "I commanded this squad of men to form into line, and proceeded to give commands in my loudest voice, as if maneuvering a battalion, but the system did not work well on the enemy. They continued to advance regardless of my commands and of the firing of my little squad." Nevertheless,

GENERALS IN BLUE

XIV Corps Commander
Jefferson C. Davis

XXX = corps; XX = division; X = brigade;
= infantry; = cavalry; = artillery

Below: "Opening of fight at Bentonville—rebel charge and breaking of our line." This William Waud sketch depicts the rout of Carlin's division.
Library of Congress

Union Order-of-Battle, Left Wing: Day #1
MAJOR GENERAL HENRY W. SLOCUM, COMMANDING

XIV — MAJOR GENERAL JEFFERSON C. DAVIS

1 — BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM P. CARLIN

- **1st — Brigadier General Harrison C. Hobart**
  104th Illinois, 42nd Indiana, 88th Indiana, 33rd Ohio, 94th Ohio, 21st Wisconsin
- **2nd — Brigadier General George P. Buell**
  13th Michigan, 21st Michigan, 69th Ohio
- **3rd (PART) — Lieutenant Colonel David Miles (w)**
  Lieutenant Colonel Arnold McMahan
  38th Indiana, 21st Ohio, 74th Ohio, 79th Pennsylvania,

2 — MAJOR GENERAL JAMES D. MORGAN

Provost Guard: 110th Illinois, Company B, Captain William R. Heater

- **1st — Brigadier General William Vandever**
  18th Illinois, 60th Illinois, 10th Michigan, 14th Michigan, 17th New York
- **2nd — Brigadier General John G. Mitchell**
  34th Illinois, 78th Illinois, 98th Ohio, 108th Ohio, 113th Ohio, 121st Ohio
- **3rd — Brigadier General Benjamin D. Fearing (w)**
  Lieutenant Colonel James W. Langley
  85th Illinois, 86th Illinois, 110th Illinois, 125th Illinois, 22nd Indiana, 37th Indiana, 52nd Ohio
- **Major Charles Houghtaling**
  Battery C, 1st Illinois Light, Battery I, 1st Illinois Light, 19th Indiana Battery

XX — MAJOR GENERAL ALPHEUS S. WILLIAMS

1 — BRIGADIER GENERAL NATHANIEL J. JACKSON

- **1st — Colonel James L. Selfridge**
  5th Connecticut, 123rd New York, 141st New York, 46th Pennsylvania
- **2nd — Colonel William Hawley**
  2nd Massachusetts, 13th New Jersey, 107th New York, 150th New York, 3rd Wisconsin
- **3rd — Brigadier General James S. Robinson**
  82nd Illinois, 101st Illinois, 143rd New York, 61st Ohio, 82nd Ohio, 31st Wisconsin

3 — THIRD DIVISION MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM T. WARD

- **1st — Colonel Henry Case**
  70th Indiana, 79th Ohio, 102nd Illinois, 105th Illinois, 129th Illinois
- **2nd — Colonel Daniel Dustin**
  33rd Indiana, 85th Indiana, 19th Michigan, 22nd Wisconsin
- **3rd — Brigadier General William Cogswell**
  20th Connecticut, 33rd Massachusetts, 55th Ohio, 73rd Ohio, 26th Wisconsin, 136th New York
- **Major John A. Reynolds**
  Battery I, 1st New York Light, Battery M, 1st New York Light, Battery C, 1st Ohio Light

MAJOR GENERAL JUDSON KILPATRICK

- **1st — Colonel Thomas J. Jordan**
  3rd Indiana (battalion), 8th Indiana, 2nd Kentucky, 3rd Kentucky, 9th Pennsylvania
- **2nd — Brigadier General Smith D. Atkins**
  92nd Illinois Mounted Infantry, 9th Michigan, 9th Ohio, 10th Ohio, McLaughlin's (Ohio) Squadron
- **3rd — Colonel George E. Spencer**
  1st Alabama, 5th Kentucky, 5th Ohio
- **4th — Lieutenant Colonel William B. Way (dismounted)**
  1st Regiment, 2nd Regiment, 3rd Regiment
- 10th Wisconsin Battery

Carlin thought he had discovered the effect of his delaying action in this passage from Joseph E. Johnston's *Narrative of Military Operations*: "Some distance in the rear there was a very thick wood of young pines, into which the Federal troops were pursued, and in which they rallied and renewed the fight." If Carlin actually believed that Johnston mistook his little squad for a large force, then it is a case of self-delusion worthy of Don Quixote himself.[28]

In any event, Carlin dismissed his squad and resumed the retreat, hoping to find the Goldsboro Road. He nearly collided with a Confederate line of battle, probably from Taliaferro's division. A mounted officer in gray spotted Carlin and rode toward him "muttering strange words which I did not understand," the Union brigadier recalled. Carlin did understand that the Southern officer meant business, for "he carried a huge horse pistol, which was leveled directly at me." Carlin backed into the woods, and to his immense relief, the Rebel lowered his horse pistol and rode back to his command. "He certainly deserves my gratitude for sending only discourteous words instead of a big leaden bullet at me," Carlin wrote, "for he was dangerously close to me."[29]

Stepping into the Goldsboro Road, Carlin noticed a pair of battery horses tied to an oak tree. He could not avoid smiling as he imagined himself, clad in

Confederate Order-of-Battle: Day #1
GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON, COMMANDING

ARMY OF TENESSEE
LIEUTENANT GENERAL ALEXANDER P. STEWART

STEWART'S CORPS
Major General William W. Loring

LORING'S DIVISION
Colonel James Jackson

Adams' Brigade
Lieutenant Colonel Robert J. Lawrence
6th Mississippi, 14th Mississippi, 15th Mississippi, 20th Mississippi, 23rd Mississippi, 43rd Mississippi

Scott's Brigade
Captain John A. Dixon
27th Alabama, 35th Alabama, 49th Alabama, 55th Alabama, 57th Alabama, 12th Louisiana

Featherston's Brigade
Major Martin A. Oatis
1st Mississippi Battalion, 1st Mississippi, 3rd Mississippi, 22nd Mississippi, 31st Mississippi, 40th Mississippi

WALTHALL'S DIVISION
Major General Edward C. Walthall

Reynolds' Brigade
Brigadier General Daniel H. Reynolds (w)
Colonel Henry C. Bunn (w)
Lieutenant Morton G. Galloway
4th Arkansas, 9th Arkansas, 25th Arkansas, 1st Arkansas Mounted Rifles (dismounted), 2nd Arkansas Mounted Rifles (dismounted)

Quarles' Brigade
Brigadier General George D. Johnston
1st Alabama, 17th Alabama, 29th Alabama, 42nd Tennessee, 48th Tennessee, 49th Tennessee, 53rd Tennessee, 55th Tennessee

LEE'S CORPS
Major General D. H. Hill

STEVENSON'S DIVISION
Major General Carter L. Stevenson

Palmer's Brigade
Brigadier General Joseph B. Palmer
3rd Tennessee, 18th Tennessee, 26th Tennessee, 32nd Tennessee, 45th Tennessee, 46th Tennessee, 58th North Carolina, 60th north Carolina, 54th Virginia, 63rd Virginia, 23rd Tennessee Battalion

Pettus' Brigade
Brigadier General Edmund Pettus (W)
20th Alabama, 23rd Alabama, 30th Alabama, 31st Alabama, 46th Alabama

CLAYTON'S DIVISION
Major General Henry D. Clayton

Stovall's Brigade
Colonel Henry C. Kellogg
40th Georgia, 41st Georgia, 42nd Georgia, 43rd Georgia, 52nd Georgia

Jackson's Brigade
Lieutenant Colonel Osceola Kyle
25th Georgia, 29th Georgia, 30th Georgia, 66th Georgia, 1st Confederate, 1st Battalion Georgia Sharpshooters

Baker's Brigade
Brigadier General Alpheus Baker
37th Alabama, 40th Alabama, 42nd Alabama, 54th Alabama

HILL'S DIVISION
Colonel John G. Coltart

Deas' Brigade
Colonel Harry T. Toulmin
19th Alabama, 22nd Alabama, 25th Alabama, 39th Alabama, 50th Alabama

Manigault's Brigade
Lieutenant Colonel John C. Carter
24th Alabama, 34th Alabama, 10th South Carolina, 19th South Carolina

CHEATHAM'S CORPS
Major General William B. Bate

CLEBURNE'S DIVISION
Brigadier General James A. Smith

Govan's Brigade
Colonel Peter V. Green
1st Arkansas, 2nd Arkansas, 5th Arkansas, 6th Arkansas, 7th Arkansas, 8th Arkansas, 13th Arkansas, 15th Arkansas, 19th Arkansas, 24th Arkansas, 3rd Confederate

Smith's Brigade
Captain J.R. Bonner
1st Georgia (Volunteers), 54th Georgia, 57th Georgia, 63rd Georgia

BATE'S DIVISION
Colonel D. L. Kenan (w)

Tyler's Brigade
Major W. H. Wilkinson (k)
2nd Tennessee, 10th Tennessee, 15th Tennessee, 20th Tennessee, 30th Tennessee, 37th Tennessee, 37th Georgia, 4th Georgia Battalion Sharpshooters

Finley's Brigade
Lieutenant Colonel Eli Washburn
1st Florida, 3rd Florida, 4th Florida, 6th Florida, 7th Florida, 1st Florida Cavalry (dismounted)

his dress uniform, riding a fully harnessed horse without saddle into friendly lines. But he found the prospect of rotting away in a Rebel prison even less appealing and "resolved to brave the laughter." Carlin tried to untie the horses, but it "proved to be a very difficult operation." After tugging at the harnesses for a few minutes, Carlin glanced down the Goldsboro Road and saw the Confederate line of battle advancing toward him. He abandoned the idea of riding, but by now was so exhausted that his pace was reduced to a walk. Fortunately for Carlin, Robinson's new line loomed just ahead. An overjoyed Carlin met Colonel Francis West of the 31st Wisconsin by the roadside and warned that the enemy was almost upon him.[30]

When Carlin reached his division a few hundred yards to the rear, he found his staff and his horse Rosy safe and sound. Carlin asked Buell to explain why he had withdrawn his brigade on his own responsibility. Buell replied that he had done so because the enemy had overlapped his left flank and would soon have enveloped it had he remained in position. Buell's answer appeared to satisfy Carlin, and he let the matter drop—for the time being.

Carlin next set out to find Miles' brigade and the wing of Hobart's brigade south of the Goldsboro Road. As he rode through the woods, Carlin approached a skirmish line that he assumed was Federal and passed through it. The skirmishers' eyes were fixed straight ahead—consequently, they paid no heed to Carlin, who glanced back and suddenly realized that the skirmishers' clothing "was *not blue, but gray.*" Carlin decided to turn around and pass through the Confederate skirmish line a second time rather than risk stumbling into the main line. As he passed through the line, Carlin closely examined one Confederate skirmisher, but the man paid him no attention. Soon afterward, Carlin met General Davis and warned him of the approaching Rebels. At first Davis refused to believe him, but the corps commander soon saw that Carlin was right. According to Carlin, Davis ordered Brigadier General William Cogswell to have his XX Corps brigade open fire on the Rebel skirmishers—one volley was sufficient to scatter them. This episode proved to be the last of Carlin's Bentonville misadventures. Despite the rout of Carlin's division, Slocum's line held, resulting in a draw on March 19. The three-day battle ended

XXX **DEPARTMENT OF NORTH CAROLINA**
General Braxton Bragg

XX **HOKE'S DIVISION**
(from the Army of Northern Virginia)
Major General Robert F. Hoke

X **Clingman's Brigade**
Colonel William S. Devane (w)
8th North Carolina, 31st North Carolina, 51st North Carolina 61st North Carolina

X **Kirkland's Brigade**
Brig. General William W. Kirkland
17th North Carolina, 42nd North Carolina, 66th North Carolina

X **Hagood's Brigade**
Brigadier General Johnson Hagood
11th South Carolina, 21st South Carolina, 25th South Carolina, 27th South Carolina, 7th South Carolina Battalion, 1st North Carolina Battalion Heavy Artillery, 36th North Carolina, 40th North Carolina

X **Colquitt's Brigade**
Colonel Charles T. Zachry
6th Georgia, 19th Georgia, 23rd Georgia, 27th Georgia, 28th Georgia

X **Junior Reserves Brigade**
Colonel John H. Nethercutt
1st North Carolina Reserves, 2nd North Carolina Reserves, 3rd North Carolina Reserves, 1st North Carolina Reserves Battalion

II **Artillery**
13th Battalion NC Light Artillery, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph B. Starr, Atkins' Battery (Company B), Dickson's Battery (Company E)

xxxx = army; XXX = corps; XX = division; X = brigade; II = battalion; = infantry; = cavalry; = horse artillery

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Opposite: "Bentonville the morning after the battle. The smoke is from resin that was fired by the Confederates," from *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War.* Inset: Lieutenant General Alexander P. Stewart. *Museum of the Confederacy*

DEPARTMENT OF SOUTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA, AND FLORIDA

XXX **HARDEE'S CORPS**
Lieutenant General William J. Hardee

XX **TALIAFERRO'S DIVISION**
Brigadier General William B. Taliaferro

X **Elliott's Brigade**
Brig. General Stephen Elliott, Jr. (w)
22nd Georgia Battalion, 28th Georgia Battalion (Bonaud's), 2nd South Carolina Heavy Artillery, Hanleiter's Battalion, Gist Guard Artillery

X **Rhett's Brigade**
Colonel William Butler
Carolina Infantry (Regulars), 1st South Carolina Heavy Artillery, Lucas' South Carolina Battalion

XX **McLAWS' DIVISION**
Major General Lafayette McLaws

X **Conner's Brigade**
Brigadier General John D. Kennedy
2nd South Carolina, 3rd South Carolina, 7th South Carolina, 8th South Carolina, 15th South Carolina, 20th South Carolina, 3rd South Carolina Battalion

X **Fiser's Brigade**
Colonel John C. Fiser
1st Georgia Regulars, 2nd Georgia Battalion Reserves, 5th Georgia Reserves, 6th Georgia Reserves, 27th Georgia Battalion

X **Harrison's Brigade**
Colonel George P. Harrison
5th Georgia, 32nd Georgia, 47th Georgia

X **Hardy's Brigade**
Colonel Washington Hardy
50th North Carolina, 7th North Carolina (Senior) Reserves, 10th North Carolina Battalion

X **Blanchard's Brigade**
Brigadier General Albert G. Blanchard
1st Battalion South Carolina Reserves, 2nd Battalion South Carolina Reserves, 6th Battalion South Carolina Reserves, 7th Battalion South Carolina Reserves, Kay's Company, South Carolina Reserves

I **Battalion Artillery**
Major A. Burnet Rhett
LeGardeur's Battery, Stuart's Battery

XXX **CAVALRY COMMAND**
Lieutenant General Wade Hampton

XX **DIBRELL'S DIVISION**
Colonel George G. Dibrell

X **Dibrell's Brigade**
Colonel William S. McLemore
4th Tennessee (McLemore's Cavalry), 13th Tennessee Cavalry, Shaw's Tennessee Battalion

X **Breckinridge's Brigade**
Colonel W.C.P. Breckinridge
1st Kentucky Cavalry, 2nd Kentucky Mounted Infantry, 4th Kentucky Mounted Infantry, 5th Kentucky Mounted Infantry, 6th Kentucky Mounted Infantry, 9th Kentucky Mounted Infantry

II **Horse Artillery**
Earle's South Carolina Battery
Hart's (Halsey's) South Carolina Battery

indecisively on March 21, even though the arrival of the Right Wing on the 20th gave the Federals a three-to-one numerical advantage. On the night of March 21-22, Johnston retreated toward Smithfield, and Sherman rode into Goldsboro on the 23rd.[31]

Although the battle was over, Carlin's Bentonville nightmare had only begun. According to his postwar memoirs, Carlin fell ill shortly after the battle and was compelled to take a thirty days' leave on his doctor's recommendation. Yet Carlin neglected to add that he had also resigned his command of the First Division, XIV Corps. In a letter to General Sherman written just one month after Bentonville, Carlin confessed that he had resigned because he believed that "if an opportunity should occur," General Davis "would ruin my reputation." Carlin implied that the rout of his division at Bentonville had presented Davis with such an opportunity.[32]

Carlin's fear of disgrace proved groundless: both he and fellow division commander Morgan received promotions to brevet major general dated March 19, 1865, the very day that Carlin's division was routed. The dating of Morgan's promotion is no surprise, for his division was generally credited with turning the tide of the battle. But for Carlin's promotion, the date was cruelly ironic.[33]

Or was it? Just a few months after the battle, Carlin wrote one of his regimental commanders regarding the rout of the First Division at Bentonville. "Though disappointed at times at not meeting with perfect success," Carlin wrote, "subsequent reflection has convinced me that all was accomplished by the [division's officers and men] that could have been expected or desired. More especially at the Battle of Bentonville where we were forced to fall back, have I now reason to congratulate myself and them on their behavior. Had my troops on the left [north] of the [Goldsboro] road held their position longer than they did, they would have been surrounded and crushed by superior numbers." Shortly after the battle, Carlin believed that his division had simply found itself in the wrong place at the wrong time. Yet, twenty-four years later, Carlin had this to say about brigade commander George P. Buell: "Buell was not driven back. He had, without order or authority, directed his brigade to fall back." In short, Carlin had convinced himself that, but for Buell, his line north of the Goldsboro Road would have *held*. "Hobart was forced back, the troops [Buell's] on his left having left their works." But according to Buell's after-action report, Hobart had already abandoned his position when Buell gave the order to retreat. Who is to be believed?[34]

According to Buell, Carlin was looking straight ahead when the brigade commander noticed the collapse of Hobart's line, and Carlin's anecdote about firing the nervous soldier's rifle confirms this. In fact, Buell's report implies that Carlin was negligent: instead of firing a soldier's rifle, Carlin should have been closely observing the situation along his front. Perhaps Buell became Carlin's scapegoat because Carlin knew that the brigade commander had been compelled to do his job for him.

Carlin also was culpable for failing to heed engineering officer Ludlow's advice and withdraw behind the ravine, which would have presented a formidable obstacle to the attacking Confederates. Such a deployment would not have prevented Taliaferro's flanking maneuver, but it would have rendered Carlin's defense more tenable and his retreat far more orderly.

As for Carlin's insistence that he had tried to warn Sherman of the impending battle near Bentonville, several eyewitness accounts portray a different Carlin, one who was confident that he could "drive the rebels out with a skirmish line." Thirty-six years after the battle, James Taylor Holmes, the former major of the 52nd Ohio and now a prominent Columbus, Ohio, attorney, recalled his encounter with Carlin. Even after four decades, Holmes still smarted from Carlin's snub:

> [T]he general who waded in with his division, with his nose in the air, saying to me, "get your men out of my way[,]" and whose division "got it in the neck"... wrote and published a glowing account of his generalship and achievements that morning. If I am spared to write it, I propose to tell the truth in a sketch of what I know of Bentonville, and to skin that general's published lies and distortions so that their father, if living, will not know them.

Holmes never found the time to write his sketch. He went to his grave believing that "if some generals" had heeded his warning, "Bentonville would have had a different history and many a good soldier would now be living whose bones are dust." Like Carlin, Holmes fancied himself a wronged prophet.[35]

US ARMY MILITARY HISTORY INSTITUTE

Major James T. Holmes (right)

After the war, Carlin wrote about Bentonville at least four times: in an 1872 "Report" of his career, in an 1882 article for the *Cincinnati Gazette*, in his 1885 "Military Memoirs" for the veterans' weekly the *National Tribune*, and in an 1889 paper published by the Ohio Commandery, MOLLUS. Each version varies little from the other; they all demonstrate that Carlin failed to come to grips with the fact that he had simply been unlucky at Bentonville. In the words of a XIV Corps staff officer, "There was not a division of veteran troops in Sherman's army but would have given way same as Carlin's men under the same circumstances." On the other hand, thanks to Carlin's rout, the entire XIV Corps had to bear the stigma of the "Battle of Acorn Run," a nickname coined by some XX Corps soldiers. The acorn was the XIV Corps' official insignia.[36]

Yet Carlin's postwar career did not appear to suffer as a result of Bentonville, nor was he called before the inquisitorial Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War. But the absence of public humiliation did not spare the proud and sensitive Carlin. At Stones River and Chickamauga Carlin's brigade had been driven from the field, but being part of a larger rout removed much of the sting;

there was no shame in retreat if everyone else was skedaddling. But Bentonville was a lonely disaster for Carlin—his was the only division to break—and it came at the end of his Civil War career. There was no opportunity for redemption on another battlefield, no Grand Review before cheering throngs lining Washington D.C.'s Pennsylvania Avenue. Carlin had only the consolation of believing that the tenacious stand of his division had made it possible for the rest of the Left Wing to deploy and repulse the Confederate attacks. Sadly for Carlin, that consolation proved insufficient. Bentonville remained his private obsession, his personal nightmare.[37] □

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The author gratefully acknowledges David Latham of the Division of State Historic Sites, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Raleigh, for providing most of the illustrations that appear in this article. Thanks also to site manager Donnie Taylor, Frederick Burgess, and Becky Sawyer of the Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site for their invaluable assistance.

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2. William P. Carlin, "The Battle of Bentonville," *Sketches of War History, 1861-1865. Papers Prepared for the Ohio Commandery of the MOLLUS*, 6 vols. (Cincinnati, 1898-1908), vol. 3, p. 233; Robert I. Girardi and Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes Jr., eds., *The Memoirs of Brigadier General William Passmore Carlin* (Lincoln, Neb., 1999), pp. 180-81. The Carlin *Memoirs* originally appeared in serial form as the "Military Memoirs" in the veterans' weekly *National Tribune* in 1885.
3. William P. Carlin, "The Battle of Bentonsville," *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, September 11, 1882; Carlin, "Battle of Bentonville," 3: pp. 233-34; Girardi and Hughes, *Carlin Memoirs*, 181.
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9. Mark L. Bradley, *Last Stand in the Carolinas: The Battle of Bentonville* (Campbell, Cal., 1996), 135; Carlin Report, *OR* 47(1): 448; Morgan Report, *OR* 47(1): 484; Journal of Second Division, XIV Corps, March 17, 1865, *OR* 47(1): 493.
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20. Slocum to Sherman, March 19, 1865 (1:30 p.m.), *OR* 47(2): 903-04. See also Slocum to Sherman, March 19, 1865 (2:00 p.m.), *OR* 47(2): 904.
21. Davis Report, *OR* 47(1): 435, Carlin Report, *OR* 47(1): 449-50.
22. McClurg, "Last Chance," 392.
23. Allan H. Dougall, "Bentonville," *War Papers Read Before the Indiana Commandery, MOLLUS* (Indianapolis, 1898), p. 217; Hoffhines to Wife, March 27, 1865, Joseph Hoffhines Papers, Ohio Historical Society.
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27. Carlin, "Battle of Bentonville," 3: 242.
28. Joseph E. Johnston quoted in Carlin, "Battle of Bentonville," 3: 246. The quotation originally appeared in Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations during the Civil War* (New York, 1990, reprint), 388.
29. Girardi and Hughes, *Carlin Memoirs*, 187-88.
30. Carlin, "Battle of Bentonville," 3: 246-47; Girardi and Hughes, *Carlin Memoirs*, 188.
31. Girardi and Hughes, *Carlin Memoirs*, 188-89.
32. *Ibid.*, 194; Carlin to Sherman, April 21, 1865, William T. Sherman Papers, Library of Congress.
33. William F. Amann, ed., *Personnel of the Civil War*, 2 vols. (New York, 1961), vol. 2: p. 15.
34. Carlin to Fitch, May 27, 1865, quoted in Michael H. Fitch, *Echoes of the Civil War as I Hear Them* (New York, 1905), p. 266; Carlin, "Battle of Bentonville," 3: 241.
35. Holmes to Work, September 20, 1901, James T. Holmes Papers, Ohio Historical Society; Stewart, *Dan McCook's Regiment*, 208.
36. Theodore Wiseman, "Bentonville. The Story Told by the A. A. G. of the Second Division, Fourteenth Corps," *National Tribune*, November 5, 1885; Bradley, *Last Stand*, 309. Carlin's MS "Report" is filed in the National Archives (M1089).
37. Carlin wrote that his division, "by holding the enemy in check nearly all day, had enabled Morgan's Division and the Twentieth Corps to come on the battleground and take up good positions . . . , and had therefore, in all probability, enabled General Slocum to successfully resist the bold and skillful assaults of General Johnston's army." Girardi and Hughes, *Carlin Memoirs*, 189-90.

MARK W. SUMMERS

THE SPOILS OF WAR

AS THE HOPES OF A QUICK WAR FADED in late 1861, a particularly deep gloom settled over Washington, and not just because victory now seemed years away. "The nation is dying of corruption, and I fear there is no salvation," Congressman Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts wrote—and that was in July, before he began to look into the details. The closer he looked, the more appalling the picture seemed. "This noble state, this whole Department is on the brink of wreck," the lawmaker wrote his wife from St. Louis. "There never was so glorious a cause so poorly served, so utterly ruined through the instrumentality in about equal degrees of incompetency and knavery." From newspaper reports, the profiteering seemed unlimited, and by the following spring, lawmakers were talking of "a thousand & one swindling contracts."[1]

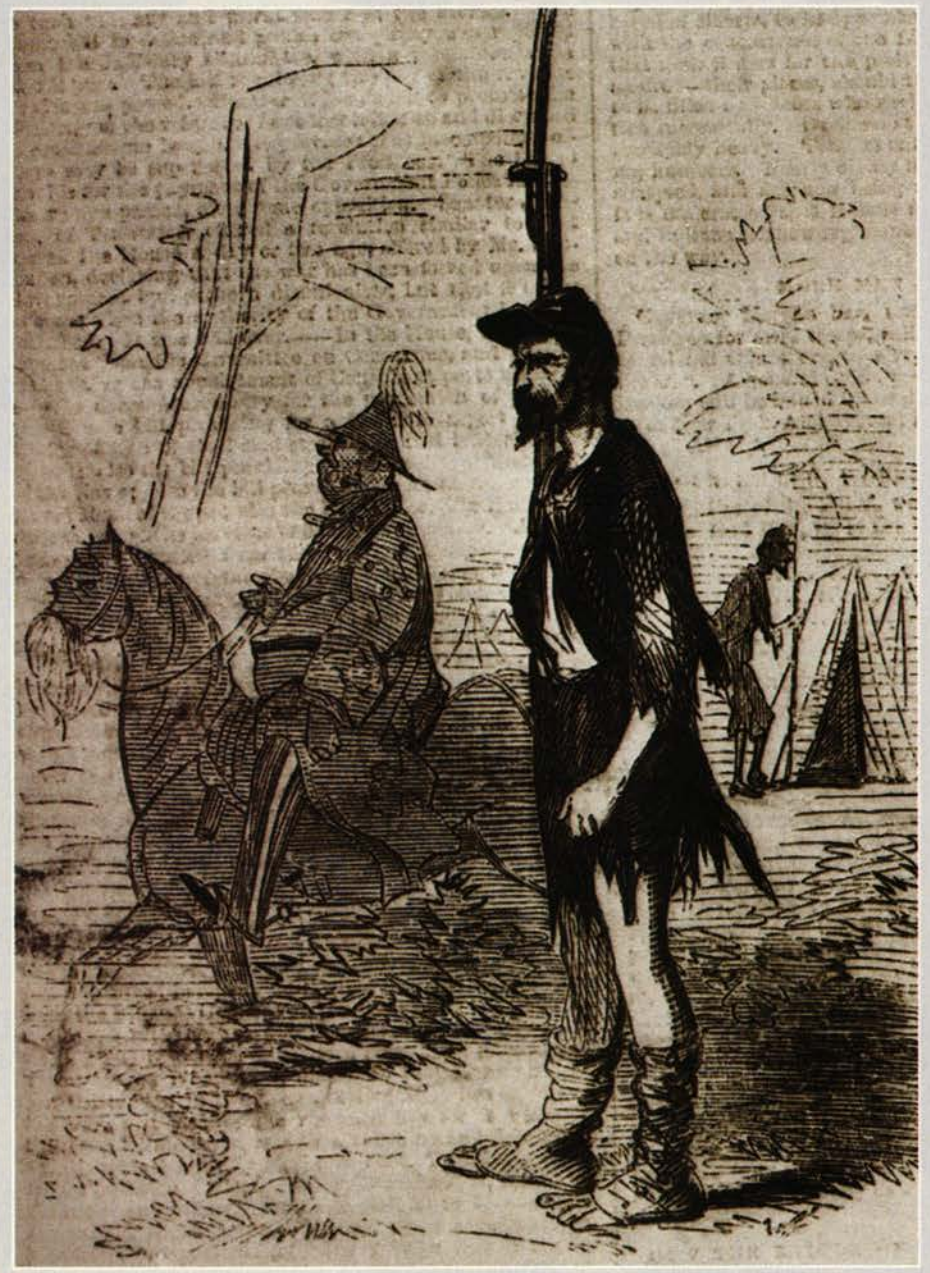
BOTH LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Corruption endangered the whole war effort by draining off the money needed to carry on the struggle. This *Harper's Weekly* cartoon depicts greedy clothing manufacturers who have influence in Washington selling shoddy goods to the army. One of their victims is portrayed opposite.

In later years, political observers would date the ethical slide that ended in the "great barbecue" of the 1870s to the first days of the war. It was axiomatic that wars corrupted people. Any South Carolinian could have told stories of how Union soldiers with no criminal record in civilian life had turned into master thieves, pillaging estates for whatever suited them. Any Tennessean living on contested ground could describe how organized guerrilla movements turned into bandit gangs, perfectly willing to maraud their friends if there were no enemies worth plundering.[2] If privates found pickings so good, how great must have been the graft of the generals! Patriotism, far from being the last refuge of a scoundrel, seemed to be the first.

In fact, the war had corrupted people's memories. Whatever thieving the war let loose fit nicely with the decade before. In the prewar period, the air had rung with charges. Corruption had its own special language: "suckers," "borers," "Galphinism," "Plaquemining." Republicans accused the northern Democrats of selling their principles for pelf and position, most notoriously in the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Within two years, the "Nebraskals" had given way to the "Buchaneers," as, amid charges (some exaggerated, many well-founded) that James Buchanan's, election through vote fraud in Philadelphia, had brought in a host of greedy contractors whose Democratic connections allowed them to mulct the government. When Republicans lauded their presidential candidate as "Honest Abe," everybody could name some government official that he was more honest *than*.[3]

The breakdown, of course, was more than personal propinquity, and a change in administrations could not have erased it. Much of the problem came from the intensity of partisanship and the old doctrine that "to the victor belonged the spoils"—itself not necessarily corruption. Since Andrew Jackson's day, partisanship had given free rein to politicians who saw nothing wrong with making office pay for them and their friends: printing contracts at exorbitant rates to friendly newspapers, generous repair contracts on the canals to favored firms, and offices to useful knaves who got out the vote no matter how. In a party system where each side depicted the other as a threat to liberty, any method for winning a majority at the polls could find its defenders: ballot box stuffing, "pipe laying" (where workers were hired, say, to dig pipes for the water works just before Election Day, and, having deposited a ballot, were sent home again), repeating, and "resurrectionism," where the dead got one last chance to decide who governed the living. Partisanship and patriotism paid, and now, when war offered immensely bigger rewards, the self-seekers were not about to change their ways of doing the public business. "At all events I will get the property out without its costing you anything," Parson William Brownlow assured a Unionist, as he arranged to seize



Confederate civilians' horses to carry tobacco to town. "You have done a great deal for Uncle Sam, and there is no reason why he should not do something for you." As a Democratic newspaper joked, the Republicans' attitude to the Rebellion seemed to be, "If that is treason, then we'll make the most of it!"[4]

And especially in the early part of the war, quite a few of them did. In thousands of pages of testimony, the House uncovered appalling examples of contractors, assigned to supply the United States with arms and clothing, who did far better by themselves than by the soldiers. Uniforms melted away in a heavy rain, shoes wore out from a day's tramping, tent canvass tore like gauze, and guns good for anything but firing left a Union army in momentary disarray. For a time, "very bad habits" was easy to define: "the habits of the army clothing contractors." "Shoddy" became more than a descriptive term; Democrats tacked the label to the Republican party, and made it so well known that some editors just referred to them as the "shoddyites" years after the war ended.[5]

But someone, certainly, made money by it, and usually someone with excellent connections. Thanks to the good services of Senator James Simmons of Rhode Island, a Providence manufacturer got a contract to supply the War Department with fifty thousand rifled muskets; Simmons collected $10,000 for his services. When ship brokers would have taken five thousand dollars to buy vessels for the Navy, what could have induced the government to hire a New York wholesale grocer, George Morgan, to do it for $95,000 over five months' time—aside from his being the secretary of the navy's brother-in-law and business partner to the former chairman of the Republican national committee? (In fairness, it needs to be noted that Morgan claimed that his profits were nearer $70,000 and Secretary Gideon Welles would have bristled all over like the fretful porpentine at the very thought of a corrupt act; choosing his in-law, he believed—with some reason—would keep the government from being robbed by avaricious merchants, out to extort top prices for their ships.)[6] When General John C. Fremont bought five thousand faulty carbines at premium prices from Simon Stevens, the fact that Stevens had read law with Congressman Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, may not have hurt his chances.[7]

With Secretary of State William Seward's political manager, Thurlow Weed, "king of the lobby," able to see top officials and find a willing ear whenever he pleased, those wanting government contracts found him an able advocate, for a five percent commission on their take. House investigators were even more uneasy about a steamship deal, in which two cronies of the New York boss bought the *Cataline* for $18,000, rented it for $10,000 a month to the government, stocked it with Scotch whiskey and other libations, and sent it to Charleston. Surely Weed's Albany newspaper misspoke itself, when it boasted that the "anaconda" military strategy was "in motion at last," a Democratic rival gibed. Didn't it mean "the Boa Contractor"? And no wonder it had taken so long to start up again, after "its rapacious gorging in the *cattle line*"![8]

Around Secretary of War Simon Cameron the charges swirled thickest, and somewhat unfairly. Even if his intentions had been the best in the world (and for once, they may have been: nobody traced any of the stealing to Cameron's own door) Pennsylvania's most notorious politician had a monumental task to accomplish to retool a somnolent bureaucracy and a snarled-up military establishment for a major war. Every war department in every war begins amid charges of fecklessness and red tape, and

not just in America: anyone who had read Charles Dickens' attack from Crimean War days knew that Great Britain, too, had its office of circumlocution. Grant that Cameron wanted to distinguish himself in the worst possible way; by the end of 1861 that was precisely what he was doing. Baffled, convinced that he could serve his friends and country at the same time, he had doled out contracts to a vulpine crew. Alexander Cummings, an old political chum, bought ale, pickles, herring, porter, straw hats and linen trousers for the soldiers—$21,000 worth. Worthless guns that the government had sold at two dollars apiece Cummings now bought for fifteen, only to have them rejected and sold to private speculators. "There seems to be a war for robing [*sic*] the public treasury," an Illinoisan complained.[9]

The sources of corruption changed; after the end of the first year, the complaints about procurement of supplies dwindled, and soldiers' own complaints about shoddy uniforms diminished as they found themselves newly clad. Yet the corruption never vanished for long from the public view. It simply shifted its focus, as new villains replaced the old. By the end of the war, if there was a special rascal that newspaper readers had learned to connect with unsavory doings, it was General Benjamin Butler, military governor of New Orleans. Direct and unpleasant in his suppression of Confederate loyalties under his command, a ready intriguer against the president and a blackguard against any opponent who took him on, the "Beast of New Orleans" went out of his way to make enemies, eager to find the worst about him. Unfortunately, they never had to look far—no farther, indeed, than his brother Andrew, commissary of subsistence, and apparent shakedown artist on every applicant who needed a permit, grant, or favor from the general's hands. Wherever he was, Butler found ways of rewarding his friends and family with special contracts and powers that could be minted into cash, and was entirely unconcerned by the look of impropriety that patriotic profit-sharing had. "I am compelled to declare with great reluctance and regret that the whole course of proceedings under Major-General Butler in this Commonwealth seems to have been designed and adapted simply to afford means to persons of bad character to make money unscrupulously and to encourage men whose unfitness had excluded them from any appointment by me," Governor John Andrew of Massachusetts wrote.[10]

Andrew's only real regret may have been that he could not have listed Butler as one of those "persons of bad character," but others were not so discreet. A hat maker hoping to sell six thousand of his caps alleged that the general himself had asked kickbacks "to divide around." (In justice to Butler, it needs to be noted that another participant in the meeting denied that any such thing had been said, and the accuser admitted getting a contract even without agreeing to Butler's suggestion.)[11] From New Orleans, the cries of collusion between the general and his brother grew louder still. George Denison, sent by the Treasury Department to examine rumors, heard that Andrew Butler, in a few months, had made one to two million dollars by his family connections, and that it was generally assumed that he was his brother's agent and split the take with him—a charge never proven. Nobody admitted to paying the general a bribe, though the rumors swirled everywhere. The Treasury did find the commander using a government ship to carry on private trade, by loading its hold with cotton and turpentine, which, listed as "ballast," was transported to Boston to be sold, a comparatively modest profiteering from a position of power.[12] Still, honest officials sighed with relief when Butler was replaced by General Nathaniel P. Banks, which, since Banks had the reputation of being a trimming political opportunist with a light grip on principle, said much about his predecessor's notoriety. They were right, too. Within days of taking command, Banks was waited on by Andrew Butler, still in town and heavily involved in cotton buying, much of which needed the friendliness or at the least the blinded eye of military officers. The general's brother wanted to work out an arrangement, and, to sweeten the deal, made Banks an offer almost too tempting to refuse. "I thank God every night that I have no desire for dishonest gains," Banks wrote his wife. "I had one hundred thousand dollars offered me the other day to allow people to 'continue' the commercial enterprises, but it was no temptation for me."[13]

ALL LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

To many Democrats, Ben Butler was a glaring example of those who left the party's ranks to follow the money.

But cotton, as the war continued, became a temptation to many other well-placed officers, both in the military and in civilian life. Northern factories could not do without their cotton supply, and areas under loyal control never could provide sufficient amounts, even under the licensed intercourse that Congress had allowed since the beginning of the war, under Treasury Department supervision. From the first, a smuggling trade had passed over the borders, with Confederate sympathizers always ready to swear allegiance to the Yankee dollar. Dealing in contraband goods worked best with government protection: permits, say, or licenses to trade with the enemy, and local Treasury agents and military commanders who knew how to commandeer government transport for shipping the cotton out, and knew even better when not to ask questions, and of whom not to ask them. As the war neared its end and the opportunity for getting to the cotton improved, the greed became pervasive. How could it help being so, when cotton that sold for twenty cents a pound in the Confederacy went for up to $1.90 in New York? Treasury agents validated the purchase of some two million bales in just three months, and not all of it would have passed the scrutiny of investigators. Banks himself would be accused of having made a military campaign up the Red River to confiscate Confederate cotton for the government's use—and, just possibly, for his own. Sailors on the accompanying gunboats raided deep into the hinterland search-

Hugh McCulloch: "I know I sent some honest men down there but...none of them could stay so long."

With the departure of Simon Cameron, the War Department went into much more aggressive, efficient, and honest hands.

ing for cotton supplies that could be branded with a "C.S.A." to make it appear as if it was the property of an illegal government. When sold, they would get a percentage of the take. One observer joked that the brands, "C.S.A." and "U.S.N." on the bales stood for "Cotton Stealing Association of the United States Navy."[14]

As with so much else, a friend in Washington could smooth along the contraband trade, and starting in mid-1864, the federal government arranged a system of permits that quickly changed from a barrier to smuggling into a broad highway for the chosen few lucky enough to have influence. The fraud in the cotton trade with Rebels, Senator Edwin D. Morgan of New York complained, was pervasive enough "to destroy any administration at any other time." At least one observer suspected that among those profiting was Morgan himself.[15] "There is unmistakable rascality in this cotton order," Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles wrote. "Thurlow Weed was here about the time it was issued, and it will not surprise me if he has an interest in it." Weed had an immense interest in it. Witnesses told congressional investigators of his connection with trading operations involving hundreds of thousands of bales, all of which had the help of Hanson A. Risley, Treasury agent in the Vicksburg area.[16] One William Butler traced an extortion racket in the giving of privileges to George Harrington, assistant secretary of the treasury, and to a long-retired secretary of the treasury, "old Tom Corwin," who, if he is to be believed, "squat at the door of the Treasury" and joined Harrington in "levying blackmail at a fearful rate."[17] "I tell you there is not to exceed one honest man connected with the Treasury Dept. in the Mississ. Valley," a major general wrote his brother furiously. Secretary of the Treasury Hugh McCulloch found that peace did not improve matters at all. "I know I sent some honest men down there," he complained, "but it looks very much as if none of them could stay so long." A. Warren Kelsey, scouring the South for cotton, wrote his Boston employer from Mobile that the population divided into three classes, "the buyers, sellers, and *stealers* of cotton," and the third class was the majority. "The amount of corruption and rascality that one hears of and sees each day in relation to cotton is perfectly wonderful."[18]

Clearly, then, there were good reasons for the attorney general to fret at "the demoralising effect of this civil war," though he overstated matters when he declared "the thirst for dishonest gain...so common" that it ceased to shock people.[19] It did shock people, and the keening of appalled statesmen and editors at the war's end was just as loud as at its beginning. Yet the ultimate effect of all this rottenness needed to be seen in perspective. As should be clear, the worst demoralization came at the very start of the war and again at its close, and most of the early stealing was not, in fact, officials robbing the treasury so much as private parties pillaging the government. With the departure of Simon Cameron early in 1862, the War Department went into much more aggressive, efficient and honest hands. Edwin M. Stanton had been a terror to fraudulent land-claimants before the war, and he was the despair of war contractors during it, disallowing steals and apparent steals, and himself leaving office poorer than he came to it.[20] Ambition could corrupt Secretary of the Treasury Salmon Chase, but never money; that was one, perhaps the strongest, reason why his friends pushed Lincoln to put him in charge of the nation's finances, and, since the original choice had been Simon Cameron, they never had cause to regret their selection. Later historians would suspect that Secretary of State William Seward was willing to promise offices and favors to win the few votes needed to win House passage of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery, and conceivably that could be called a kind of corruption. ("The greatest measure of the nineteenth century was passed by corruption, aided and abetted by the purest man in America," Thaddeus Stevens is said to have remarked—referring to Lincoln, not Seward).[21] But nobody ever proved that he had shared in the proceeds of Weed's transactions, because just about nobody thought that he had.

No one knew how far the corruption went, and some observers with reason to know thought it greatly exaggerated. Many a charge that seemed irrefutable melted into air on closer inspection. Politicians in particular were sure to be suspected of wicked purposes, when just plain stupidity made a better explanation. How much actual harm the negligence of the first year did to the Union's ability to win the war is impossible to guess; how much the cotton smuggling added to the Confederacy's ability to carry on its fight is incalculable, though probably the effect was small.[22]

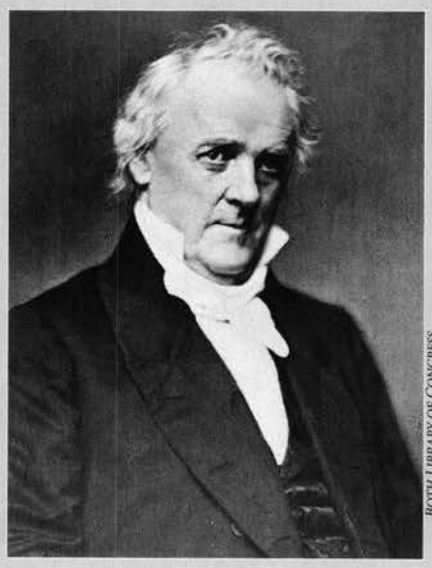
But there were other ways in which the seediness of wartime politics did affect late nineteenth century America. They were impalpable, unquantifiable, and lingering. The most important of these was the way in which it helped save the two party system and discredit government.

However much public thieving and cheating lined officeholders' pockets, it was a Fortunatus' purse to the Demo-

cratic party. Theirs was an unenviable condition as the war got underway. Shut out of government, unable to win any game of capture-the-flag with Republicans who were prosecuting the war, they had every right to fear the future. The party out of power in wartime, whether it opposed the war or gave it conditional support, always suffered when the fighting stopped. The Federalists had been annihilated, the Whigs fatally stricken. Democrats might go the same way, especially since, as the war went on, an increasingly vocal minority among them called for an end to the fighting, and a tiny but conspicuous band urged the North to accept Confederate independence rather than shed further blood.[23] With Peace Democrats and War Democrats looking daggers at each other, the party needed an issue to unite them and the men in the middle, and needed still more a way of keeping the old issues alive in a time when the life or death of the nation made past concerns seem rather picayune and irrelevant.

Corruption did all that and more. First, the charge fit precisely with what Democratic doctrine had predicted would happen all along, the moment a central government had the unlimited bank account to direct affairs and a crowd of Whigs (or former Whigs) infusing their sense of positive governance into Washington. Whigs were notoriously generous with money not their own, and with powers not specifically granted to the central government. As for Thurlow Weed and Tom Corwin, any Democrat who remembered the 1850s knew them for hardened offenders. The old Jacksonian models still held true, and when Democrats spoke of wartime corruption, they saw the same villains: the special interests, buyers of favors, using government privileges to enrich themselves at the expense of taxpaying farmers and workers. To Democrats, embezzlement was only the most overt form of corruption. Public virtue was tainted more subtly by the whole ethos dating from Alexander Hamilton's day, that made financial interest the partner of patriotism, and bought the loyalty of the coupon-clipping bondholders with favorable terms in the repayment of the war debt.[24] From Washington, the corruption flowed downward to the people, with the tax-eaters' money ready for use on Election Day. Behind Lincoln, Democrats cried, stood "countless hosts of unscrupulous officials...swarms of shoddy contractors, whose livelihood depends upon the continuance of the corruptions that fester all around us," and a determination "to stop at no fraud they may deem necessary to compass their ends."[25] But of course corruption also endangered the whole war effort, by draining off the money needed to carry on the struggle. "Lincoln and his Govt of Shoddy Contractors" alarmed Ohio's onetime gubernatorial nominee John Trimble. Their war was "cruel, corrupt, and as crushing out the *hearts* blood of the *nation*...." "The terrible outrages, corruption and mismanagement of the Lincoln Administration, have become so apparent that there is widespread alarm throughout the land in regard to the fate of our country, which was so prosperous and happy when they assumed the management of our affairs," the Uniontown *Genius of Liberty* warned readers in mid-1864—no doubt hoping that they had forgotten the economic panic and advance of secession from three years before.[26]

Beyond this dishonesty, though, Democrats saw something worse. As good inheritors of the old classical republican idea that free governments rested on virtue, and that liberty was more likely to be bartered away than conquered, they knew that corruption, bad in itself, was means to an end that was even worse. Selfish interests bought by greed and power would strip the people of their liberties. Anyone versed in ancient history knew that this was how Rome had fallen, and now they saw corruption and tyranny moving hand in hand, as a Republican administration strove to buy the people's love with favors and silence its critics with military arrests and threats of a sojourn in some American bastille. Predictions proliferated of "the wreck that is surely upon us," and of a republic "rushing headlong down the abis of certaine ruin." If Lincoln was reelected, an Illinoisan wrote his brother, "we will never...have another presidential election." He would be "proclaimed Emperor long before his term expires." (And, he added, it was what the people wanted and deserved: they have not nor never had sense and honesty enough to maintain a republican form of government.)[27]



BOTH LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

James Buchanan: "I think we may carry the State but I fear the soldiers' vote."

With such dire fears, a divided party could be held together. The stakes were too great for disunity, even if Peace and War Democrats disagreed about the best means of saving the Union. The corruption issue worked well for them both. It gave the antiwar men a convenient explanation for why there had been a war at all, and why it continued. Of course the abolitionists refused to consider making peace, a Pennsylvania editor charged. "They make money out of the war, and therefore they want the war to go on."[28] If the war, to the most embittered of them, was nothing more than a "bloody plundering machine," it followed that the Union could be saved without it.[29] War Democrats, eager for any grounds on which to distance themselves from the administration, could shape the argument differently: the war was right and legitimate, but it was being lost because those in charge preferred cash advances to military advances. Under a Democratic president, and no other, would victory come, and at a price that taxpayers could afford.

For all Democrats, too, the corruption issue was ready-made to explain how the majority party of five years before had become an impotent minority. Ben Butler was just the most glaring example of a deserter from their own ranks who followed the money. Every tender of coalition was merely an offer for the terms of barter and sale. Lincoln and Seward's patient wooing of the opposition was simply "a bid to the venal among us," and one that all too many War Democrats would

Troops from the 3rd Pennsylvania Artillery cast absentee ballots in camp during the 1864 election.

respond to.[30] All the more noble, then, did Democrats look to themselves, as the one disinterested set of patriots left. "We had no Greenbacks nor positions either to retain men in our ranks or to influence them to join us," a Pennsylvania newspaper boasted, "but principle was more highly prized than these influences, and hence our splendid majority."[31]

That same cause provided a convenient explanation for Republican victories at the polls. Fraud explained every narrow triumph, and to Democrats by 1864, the main engine for fraud was in the vote of soldiers in the field, curried and culled by officers sent out by Republican governors up north. At every election there were concerns that Republicans might be holding back the vote of soldiers in the field until they saw what kind of majorities needed to be overcome, and real doubts that the soldier vote was being counted honestly. "I think we may carry the State," James Buchanan wrote, just before Pennsylvania cast its ballots in the 1864 October elections, "but I fear the soldiers' vote."[32] When the returns showed a Republican lead, Democrats chorused that they had been cheated. At any "fair, free election the soldiers from this County would at any time give a Democratic majority," the party organ in Fayette county raged, as it saw a Lincoln majority among the enlisted men cutting into the Democrats' home vote margin.[33] It was reported, for example, that soldiers found McClellan tickets scarce and Lincoln tickets plentiful, and that even the Democrats who had a ballot found themselves disfranchised by their failure to show tax receipts. These the Democratic party had sent to them, some three hundred to the troops from Luzerne County. Officers stopped the shipment at the fort—until the polls had closed.[34] Partisans would have felt their suspicions of manipulation confirmed, had they seen a letter from New Hampshire's Republican chairman about that state's election earlier in the year. "We are having a close political contest," William E. Chandler wrote an ally, "and shall save the State only by aid of the soldiers' votes." Chandler did not mean New Hampshire men doing battle in distant climes; he meant nonresidents stationed at Fort Constitution inside the state, and the ideal strategy, from his viewpoint, was selecting wisely. The Republicans must go to the polls "while the copperheads and minors stay to man the guns." On top of which his influence in Washington had worked out furloughs for many soldiers just in time "to see us within the next three weeks."[35]

In Indiana, just in time for the 1864 election, the Democratic newspaper published a letter (probably spurious) from one Massachusetts soldier stationed in Indianapolis to his brother:

> Did you ever attend an election out west? It is a big thing! The people are more enlightened, of course; it is a natural consequence that there is more liberty and freedom than in Massachusetts and benighted lands; so much so that people vote as many times as they please, and allow all their friends to do the same, provided they are 'sound on the goose.'
>
> It is estimated that the Sixtieth Massachusetts Regiment cast about 6,000 votes for Governor Morton last Tuesday. And I know that some of the boys of Company I voted ten and twelve times each one.
>
> Afterwards, two or three car loads of the regiment were taken to the town of Greenville—about thirty miles from here—and treated to a big dinner.... I think the boys hardly did their duty while there, for the town only gave about 600 Republican majority.[36]

In fact, both parties could claim a share of the dishonors. In New York that same year, agents sent by the Democratic governor were arrested in Baltimore after having sent seven dry goods boxes full of votes back home. One Moses J. Ferry, assigned to see to it that "sick and wounded soldiers of New York" were given a chance to vote, spread his solicitude even to the dead. Arrested by the provost marshal in Baltimore, he confessed to having forged the names of officers and men to swell the Democratic totals in New York. With four hundred ballots cast from the 91st New York Regiment providing just eleven for Lincoln, Ferry's explanation to an undercover Republican was that many more such votes had come into his office, but were "all right when they went out." Displaying a tally of forged names, Ferry boasted, "Dead or alive, they all had cast a good vote." Ferry and his companion were found guilty and served a good term behind bars.[37]

The most impassioned charges of vote fraud came from the Union slave states. Furiously, a Delaware senator charged that soldiers' threats had caused the Congressional election of Republicans in his own state, and that "only fourteen Democrats dared vote because of the warnings for those voting otherwise."[38] Maryland conservatives claimed that their state elected Union congressmen and ratified an antislavery constitution through intimidation and fraud almost as bad as anything the state had seen before the war.[39]

If all that Democrats claimed was true (and not much of it was, even in

Maryland), the election results conveyed no shift away from their party. A ten thousand vote majority for Lincoln in Pennsylvania proved nothing about the Democrats' message—at least to the Luzerne *Union*. "Indeed, it is a grand moral spectacle to behold the old Democratic party, without money, in the face of bayonets, power, proscription, and the foulest defamation ever known to the American people, should have marshaled such an array of honest votes against an administration distinguished alike for its corruption and its tyranny."[40] Just wait till the soldiers came home and did their own voting for themselves! To lose the 1864 election, one Indianian wrote another, meant "the most corrupt and insupportable of all tyrannies—a centralized, sectional military despotism—and the utter subversion of the noblest structure of free government ever devised or instituted by the wisdom of man."[41]

We should not swallow whole the charges of corruption that Democrats retailed endlessly, particularly about the "bayonet vote" suborned to do Lincoln's will, nor their underlying assumption that corruption, instead of being incidental to the war, was intrinsic—the very cause for its continuance and the defining quality of Republicanism. But we should take the cant seriously in quite another sense. It gave the Democratic party a reason for living on, a sense of common grievance that they needed badly, in a dangerous time. More than that, it gives us a glimpse of something easily forgotten, that the two parties saw each other, not simply as rivals or as the expression of misguided views, but as conspiracies and as illegitimate. On one side stood "the minions of a corrupt and venal administration," on the other, "the only defenders of constitutional and civil liberty."[42] Using such a perspective, Democrats could look at anything and see what they wanted to see. When the so-called Union national convention gathered to renominate Lincoln, it appeared to the New York *World* as "the great shoddy assemblage," subordinating its every principle to an appetite for spoils. "The party has no policy," the *World* snarled; "it is held together only by the cohesive power of public plunder."[43]

Democratic language reveals more than the absolutism of true believers, however. It also affords a glimpse at the obsession that political observers had with the secret world behind politics' outward show. Bills, measures, and actions did not speak for themselves; they had hidden intentions, masked steals or power-grabs. That fascination with corruption was just one token of that search for the invisible world of power, where cunning Napoleons of Crime and grey eminences pulled the strings that made presidents dance, and the chink of gold in the hand drowned out all arguments. It was not enough, say, for Secretary of State William Seward to make foreign policy; he must be the real power behind the throne, with Lincoln and then President Andrew Johnson as his dupes and pawns. To assume that Republicans were mismanaging the government was too simple, when their actions could just as readily show that "conspirators at Washington" were bent on "establishing upon the ruins of the Republic, a despotism, more odious than has ever disgraced the civilization of any age of the world."[44]

In that paranoia, Democrats did not stand alone. The Civil War only intensified that suspicion and search for the "true inwardness" of events in all parties that would build up nightmare visions of presidents planning to expel Congress at bayonet point, or Congressional leaders plotting to assassinate a

NOTES:

1. Henry L. Dawes to Electa Dawes, July 28, October 18, 1861, Henry Laurens Dawes MSS, Library of Congress (hereafter referred to as LC); James Ashley to Horace Greeley, March 25, 1862, Horace Greeley MSS, LC.
2. Daniel E. Sutherland, ed., *Guerrillas, Unionists, and Violence on the Confederate Home Front* (Fayetteville, Arkansas: 1999), pp. 102-03, 123-26, 131, 180; John C. Inscoe and Robert C. Kenzer, eds., *Enemies of the Country: New Perspectives on Unionists in the Civil War South* (Athens, Georgia: 2001), pp. 86-89.
3. Mark W. Summers, *The Plundering Generation: Corruption and the Crisis of the Union, 1849-1861* (New York: 1987).
4. Summers, *Plundering Generation*, 55-63; John C. Inscoe and Robert C. Kenzer, eds., *Enemies of the Country: New Perspectives on Unionists in the Civil War South* (Athens, Georgia: 2001), p. 88; Albany *Atlas & Argus*, July 15, 1861.
5. Albany *Atlas & Argus*, July 6, 1861; Luzerne *Union*, November 2, 16, 1864.
6. Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union: The Improvised War* (New York: 1959), p. 359; Fred Nicklason, "The Civil War Contracts Committee," *Civil War History*, 17 (September 1971); John Niven, *Gideon Welles, Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy* (New York: 1973), pp. 236-37, 361-64.
7. Nicklason, "Civil War Contracts Committee," 235.
8. Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed, Wizard of the Lobby* (Boston: 1947), pp. 284-89; Albany *Atlas & Argus*, July 18, 1861. Other applicants went straight to Seward himself. See William W. Seaton to William H. Seward, October 5, 1861, William Henry Seward MSS, University of Rochester.
9. Brooks M. Kelley, "Fossildom, Old Fogeyism, and Red Tape," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 90 (January 1966): pp. 93-114; Erwin Stanley Bradley, *Simon Cameron, Lincoln's Secretary of War: A Political Biography* (Philadelphia: 1966), pp. 196-200; William H. Wilson to Elihu B. Washburne, January 11, 1862, Elihu B. Washburne MSS, LC. The Office of Circumlocution can be found in Charles Dickens's *Little Dorrit*.
10. Ludwell Johnson, "The Butler Expedition of 1861-1862: The Profitable Side of War," *Civil War History*, 11 (September 1965): p. 236. For a more cautious evaluation of Butler's enormities, see Mark Wahlgren Summers, *The Era of Good Stealings* (New York: 1993), pp. 26-27, 174-78.
11. Johnson, "Butler Expedition of 1861-1862," p. 232.
12. Chester G. Hearn, *When the Devil Came Down to Dixie: Ben Butler in New Orleans* (Baton Rouge: 1997) pp. 180-97
13. James G. Hollandsworth, Jr., *Pretense of Glory: The Life of General Nathaniel P. Banks* (Baton Rouge: 1998), pp. 157-59.
14. Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed*, 287-88; Hollandsworth, *Pretense of Glory*, 179, 216.
15. Ludwell H. Johnson, "Northern Profit and Profiteers: The Cotton Rings of 1864-1865," *Civil War History*, 12 (June 1966): pp. 101-115; Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed*, 288.
16. Johnson, "Cotton Rings," 113-114.
17. *Ibid.*, 103.
18. "Agate," Cincinnati *Gazette*, November 14, 1865; Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Tour of the Southern States, 1865-1866* (Cincinnati: 1866), p. 207; A. Warren Kelsey to Edward Atkinson, September 29,1865, Edward Atkinson MSS, Massachusetts Historical Society.

chief executive. As Lincoln began forming provisional governments in the South and installing governors, it seemed plain enough on the surface what his purpose was: to begin the process of reconstructing the Union and building the nucleus for what might become loyal states, free from slavery and redeemed of treasonable leaders. But congressmen in both parties saw a more sinister purpose. They spotted a plot to create a bevy of rotten boroughs,[45] with scarcely enough genuine voters to crowd a broom closet, not quite state enough to deserve representation in Congress, and far too little an expression of the real state's will to have its decrees obeyed beyond the statehouse steps, but just state enough to participate in the 1864 election and provide Lincoln with the electoral votes he needed to beat a Democratic—or, for that matter, a radical Republican—challenger. It was not from a Democrat, but from Samuel Wilkeson of the New York *Tribune*, that the Lincoln wartime Reconstruction policy was described in these lurid terms:

> It is a history in part of the admission into the convention of states, and into the federal Union as states, of Arkansas, where under Banks we have been whipped not only out of our boots, but out of our actual political possession of the soil sufficient to elect a hog-reeve; of Louisiana, where we have political possession just so far as our thirty-pounder Parrott guns will shoot and not one inch further; of Tennessee where we have jurisdiction and political grip just as fishermen in Fundy have foothold between the ebb and flood of the tide, and not one inch more; of Nevada, Colorado, Nebraska, scarcely fledged territories, in whose behalf...not one word could be invented for public avowal, save that their admission to the convention would help their several schemes to bring them into the Union as states![46]

The eagerness of politicians to see plots around them, and of editors to see government as honeycombed with traitors and scoundrels, lasted well into Reconstruction. South and North supped on terrors of Negro uprisings, Rebels plotting to begin a new war, fanatics out to crush the states, and subversives of every description. Those who convinced themselves that they faced a revolutionary threat were willing to use revolutionary methods to overcome it. At the same time, as public memory faded, the Democrats won the debate over when the demoralization of politics had begun. By the 1870s, even Republicans were blaming the war for America's ethical downfall. From such assumptions, the remedy seemed obvious. The sooner government returned to its old size and former powers, the better for the public good. Monumental as the problems postwar were, the North could not wait to demobilize its army and dismantle its tax programs. Every year, the cry for retrenchment grew louder, and any Republican could win a cheap celebrity as a reformer simply by declaring that the government was spending more than it needed. By 1866, the choices a Republican Congress faced in dealing with the South had already been narrowed severely by its retreat toward an antebellum normalcy. In a sense, then, the peace that soldiers won would not end up lost so much as stolen—and by the usual suspects. □

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19. Johnson, "Cotton Rings," 115.
20. Benjamin P. Thomas and Harold M. Hyman, *Stanton: The Life and Times of Lincoln's Secretary of War* (New York: 1962), pp. 140-41, 160-61, 165-66; Summers, *Era of Good Stealings*, 18-20.
21. LaWanda and John H. Cox, *Politics, Principle, and Prejudice, 1865-1866: Dilemma of Reconstruction America* (New York: 1969), pp. 6-30; Fawn Brodie, *Thaddeus Stevens: Scourge of the South* (New York: 1959), p. 204.
22. Summers, *Era of Good Stealings*, 28.
23. Joel H. Silbey, *A Respectable Minority: The Democratic Party and the Civil War Era, 1860-1868* (New York: 1977), pp. 89-114.
24. Silbey, *Respectable Minority*, 70-77; Uniontown *Genius of Liberty*, October 20, 1864.
25. Luzerne *Union*, November 9, 1864.
26. John A. Trimble to E. Comstock, July 29, 1864, John A. Trimble MSS, Ohio Historical Society; Uniontown *Genius of Liberty*, August 25, 1864.
27. D.A. Farley to John G. Davis, November 18, 1863, William P. Davis to John G. Davis, October 24, 1864, John G. Davis MSS, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis.
28. Uniontown *Genius of Liberty*, September 29, 1864.
29. John D. Stiles to Lewis Coryell, February 15, 1864, Lewis Coryell MSS, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
30. Victor E. Piollet to William Bigler, November 21, 1864, William Bigler MSS, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
31. Uniontown *Genius of Liberty*, November 24, 1864.
32. James Buchanan to Lewis Coryell, n.d. [but probably September 1864], Lewis Coryell MSS, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
33. Uniontown *Genius of Liberty*, December 1, 1864.
34. Luzerne *Union*, November 30, 1864.
35. William E. Chandler to Frank Howe, February 17, 1864, William E. Chandler MSS, New Hampshire Historical Society.
36. Oscar Osburn Winther, "The Soldier Vote in the Election of 1864," *New York History*, 25 (October 1944): p. 453.
37. Winther, "Soldier Vote in the Election of 1864," pp. 449-51.
38. *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, 2nd sess., 859 (February 17, 1865).
39. *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, 2nd sess., 859 (February 17, 1865). On the allegations of fraud in Maryland voting—and their lack of merit—see Jean H. Baker, *The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858 to 1870* (Baltimore: 1973), pp. 87-91; Charles Wagandt, "Election by Sword and Ballot," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 59 (June 1964): pp. 143-64.
40. Luzerne *Union*, November 23, 1864.
41. J.J. Bingham to Charles Lasselle, May 10, 1864, Charles Lasselle MSS, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.
42. John A. Trimble to Horatio Seymour, March 17, 1863, John A. Trimble MSS, Ohio Historical Society.
43. New York *World*, June 10, 1864.
44. John A. Trimble to Horatio Seymour, March 17, 1863, John A. Trimble MSS, Ohio Historical Society; William E. Chandler to Amos Tuck, December 15, 1864, William E. Chandler MSS, New Hampshire Historical Society.
45. As, see the terminology in the New York *World*, June 11, 1864.
46. New York *World*, June 11, 1864; see also, *ibid.*, June 13, 1864.

BRIEFINGS *Reviews*

LEE'S LAST RETREAT
The Flight to Appomattox

By William Marvel (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. Pp. 308, bibliography, notes, index, 38 illustrations and 6 maps, $29.95 , ISBN 0-8078-2745-2).

In this well-written book, William Marvel urges reconsideration of some hoary traditions and hallowed assumptions regarding the last days that Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia was in the field. Drawing upon diligent research, Marvel sets out to revise older works, such as Burke Davis' *To Appomattox: Nine April Days* (1959). Marvel succeeds in this effort, but may not persuade all readers on all points that he makes.

Marvel carefully analyzes a number of important matters. Citing several sources from 1865, rather than ones written many years later, Marvel questions if Billy Yanks generously shared their own rations with Johnny Rebs after the surrender, which developed into a prized memory according to some veterans. Many readers will be familiar with Lee's emotional farewell message to his army, but Marvel's convincing analysis shows by April 9 Lee's confidence had waned and the general was justified in doubting that his soldiers could continue the fight. Numerous complications, among them confusion about Lee's orders, the distribution of food, the location of trains, and misdirection of pontoons contributed to lowering Confederate morale. It will disappoint some readers when Marvel's analysis calls into question the veracity of particulars in the prized description of the surrender ceremony by Joshua L. Chamberlain in his notable book *Passing of the Armies* (1915). Marvel contends that much of Chamberlain's account was self-aggrandizing and reflected the move to heal sectional wounds.

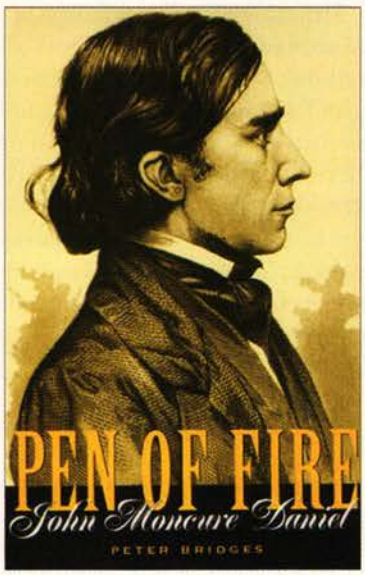
Perhaps most significant, Marvel calls for greater effort to tabulate accurately the strength of each force between late March 1865, the end of the fighting at Appomattox on April 9, and the surrender ceremony three days later. Marvel establishes that the Union forces were somewhat less and the Confederate forces somewhat stronger than other historians have claimed. The difficulty of arriving at accurate troop totals will continue to be an issue, especially for the Confederates, because of massive desertion during the last nine days of the war. Marvel points to valuable works by historian Chris Calkins, such as *The Appomattox Campaign* (1997), as providing correctives to older studies.

In appendixes Marvel provides excellent analysis of troop strengths, the delay of Lee's army at Amelia Court House, controversies over removal from command of Confederate generals Richard Anderson, Bushrod Johnson, and George Pickett, along with an order of battle for both Union and Confederate forces. He supports his study with substantial notes, well-chosen photographs and illustrations, and clear maps. This book is highly recommended for all who want their history unvarnished.

—Joseph G. Dawson III
Texas A&M University

PEN OF FIRE
John Moncure Daniel

By Peter Bridges (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2002. Pp. 284, $28.00, ISBN 0-8733-8736-8).



John Moncure Daniel certainly believed the pen is mightier than the sword, and he wielded his pen with as deadly an intent as if he were on the front line of every battle of the Civil War. In *Pen of Fire*, the biography of John Daniel, Peter Bridges brings to life the *Richmond Examiner* owner and editor, exposing his passions and his flaws. In describing his transformation from an ambitious poor youth to a Virginia gentleman, the author draws an insightful portrait that is at the same time fascinating and repugnant. Daniel was pro-secession, pro-slavery, and anti-Jefferson Davis. Through his own writings, the reasons for Daniel's positions are explored, making this as much a study of extreme Confederate patriotism and inside Richmond politics as a biography of one man. Armed with well-documented research, the author draws sound, if not earth-shaking, conclusions about the impact of Daniel's style of patriotism and politics on the drive to secession and the life of the Confederacy.

There is, however, more to the story than the Civil War years. Bridges, a former U.S. ambassador to Somalia, writes with humor and skill about Daniel's prewar stint as an envoy to the Kingdom of Sardinia. It is here that the biography shines. The reader is treated to a sketch of mid-nineteenth century Italian politics when nationalism was marching to dominance. As interesting as nation making is, nation unmaking is even more interesting. The author never wanders too far from American domestic politics and its relationship to American foreign policy, something about which he obviously knows a great deal. Yet in the end it is the events of the Civil War that give Daniel's story significance.

—Paula Price
Powhatan, Virginia

I ACTED FROM PRINCIPLE
The Civil War Diary of William McPheeters, Confederate Surgeon in the Trans-Mississippi

Edited by Cynthia DeHaven Pitcock and Bill J. Gurley (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2002. Pp. 381, $34.95, ISBN 1-55728-725-2).

The growth of Civil War literature covering the Trans-Mississippi reflects an increasing interest in this long-neglected theater of war. The diary of Confederate medical officer William McPheeters is an exceptional and valuable contribution to the field. Skillfully edited by Cynthia D. Pitcock, a historian of medicine, and professor of pharmacology Bill J. Gurley, *I Acted From Principle* provides both the seasoned Trans-Mississippi scholar and the newcomer to the theater with a riveting first hand account of important people and events that shaped the war west of the Mississippi.

Before the war, McPheeters was a well-known St. Louis physician. During the secession crisis in Missouri, he refused to swear an oath of allegiance to the United States and federal troops began a systematic persecution of the doctor and his family. Facing arrest and imprisonment, McPheeters fled to Richmond in the spring of 1862. He joined the Confederate military and served on the staff of Missouri General Sterling Price until the end of the war. While the doctor worked on the front lines, his family continued to suffer harassment and humiliation at the hands of Union soldiers. Accordingly, the McPheeters diary delivers a day-by-day chronicle of the Confederate struggle from the battlefield to the home front.

McPheeters provides a fascinating perspective on important military operations in the Trans-Mississippi from the Battle of Helena through Price's Missouri raid. Among the most poignant entries are those from the 1864 Red River Campaign. Accompanying Thomas Churchill's command, McPheeters' field hos-

pital was overrun by enemy troops at the Battle of Pleasant Hill, Louisiana, and the doctor risked becoming a casualty. Three weeks later, at the Battle of Jenkins Ferry, Arkansas, McPheeters witnessed the butchery of Southern troops in a tarnished victory that cost the Confederates many of their most valuable officers. "The battlefield presented a sad picture" lamented McPheeters immediately after the battle, "officers and men that a few hours before I had seen and talked with now lying cold and ghastly on the ground.... Let those who prate about the glories of war witness such a scene and then talk of glory."

Of equal importance is the social history revealed in the McPheeters diary, particularly the calamitous story of the doctor's family. Early in the war, Federal troops in St. Louis looted the family home and put Sallie, the doctor's wife, under oppressive surveillance. Eventually, she suffered the fate of many Confederate sympathizers in the Border States. Along with her two children, Sallie was removed forcibly from her home by Union troops and banished from Missouri. McPheeters' account of his family's suffering on the home front delivers a unique personalized insight into the human cost of the war against Southern civilians.

Diary entries also indicate that McPheeters' support for the Confederacy stemmed from his belief in personal liberty and state rights. In fact, the editors point out that despite his wealth, the doctor did not own slaves. McPheeters acknowledged that "the sentiment of the world is against us on account of slavery" and believed that emancipation would prove a positive result of the war. In a diary entry dated March 6, 1864, McPheeters expressed his belief that future generations would realize that the Confederates were "fighting not for slavery but for the right of self government."

Pitcock and Gurley have divided the McPheeters diary into concise chronological chapters, each revolving around a central event. As a result, the work proceeds seamlessly and is easy for the reader to digest. Moreover, before each chapter, the editors provide a splendid synopsis of events leading up to and surrounding the period covered by McPheeters' entries. These introductions enable the reader to grasp quickly the situation and circumstances that McPheeters and the Confederates faced. In addition, the editors have utilized related holdings from other archives to fill in the gaps in McPheeters story and round out the presentation.

I Acted From Principle provides a look at the Civil War from a variety of angles. Such a viewpoint is uncommon in Civil War literature. As a result, the work should find a niche on not only the shelves of Trans-Mississippi historians, but on night tables of Civil War enthusiasts and on the desks of college students investigating both social and military aspects of the war.

—Jeffery S. Prushankin
Penn State University Abington

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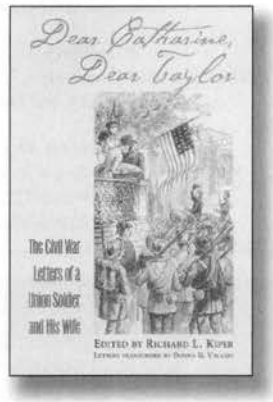

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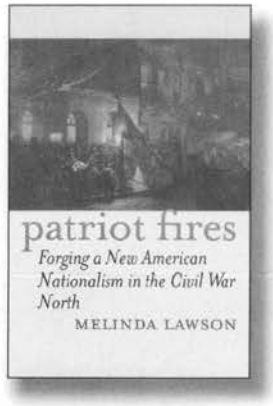

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CROSSROADS OF FREEDOM: ANTIETAM

By James M. McPherson (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. Pp. 203, index, $26.00, ISBN 0-1951-3521-0).

More than twice as many Americans died at Antietam as perished on September 11, 2001, and four times the number lost on D-Day. September 17, 1862, remains the bloodiest single day in American history. James M. McPherson argues that the Battle of Antietam was a pivotal moment in a pivotal conflict, and his book inaugurates a new series of publications dealing with issues of historical contingency.

For this reason, McPherson's book is not a conventional battlefield account. The battle itself occurs in the final quarter of a brief narrative. Those in search of a full-length study might turn instead to books by James Murfin or Stephen Sears. Instead, McPherson argues that Antietam represented a "crucial turning point" in the war, a contention buttressed with the judgment of Union General Winfield Scott Hancock, who thought the outcome "the heaviest disappointment the rebels had met with," and Confederate General James Longstreet, who argued that the battle "sprung the keystone of the arch upon which the Confederate cause rested."

McPherson places a heavy burden upon a battle that may have been pivotal but hardly decisive. Recently restored to command, General George B. McClellan possessed advantages of men and materiel enhanced by the chance discovery by Union troops of a copy of General Robert E. Lee's Special Orders No. 191, disclosing that outnumbered Confederates nonetheless intended to divide their forces before reassembling against their major antagonist. "I have the plans of the rebels," crowed McClellan on September 13, but still he hesitated before attacking. When he did so, his forces advanced without coordination and a huge reserve sat out the battle. After squandering every advantage, McClellan boasted that he had "defeated Lee so utterly, & saved the North so completely." Historians have rarely joined McClellan in exultation, and critics have berated him for not advancing for another day of battle, a lesson he might possibly have learned from General Ulysses S. Grant at Shiloh. After all, even the spectacularly inept General Ambrose E. Burnside had eventually crossed the bridge rechristened in his dishonor.

Lee had perhaps made a mistake, but he was taking something of a gamble. If he could defeat Northern troops across the Potomac, and do so decisively, the momentum of the war might have swung to the Confederates. To remain in a defensive position might have ensured fewer casualties and longer survival for the rebel nation but would merely have postponed inevitable defeat. Lee pressed for a decisive victory even at the potential cost of a pivotal defeat.

This pivotal defeat furnishes the substance of McPherson's argument. Had Lee achieved victory at Antietam, sympathetic Englishmen might have offered to mediate the difficulties between North and South, furnishing a degree of foreign recognition that the Confederacy needed. Further, the repulse of Lee gave President Abraham Lincoln the whiff of success needed to issue his Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 22. The document lay hidden in Lincoln's desk drawer ever since mid-summer, disclosed only to cabinet members. Then Secretary of State William H. Seward had urged that the president wait for a victory, so that the proclamation would not appear to be "our last shriek, on the retreat." The outcome of Antietam, sometimes interpreted as a "defeat for both armies," at least gave Lincoln justification for his long-deferred proclamation. In addition to transforming the nature and mission of the war, emancipation effectively forestalled foreign support for the South.

McPherson argues that the twin Union triumphs at Gettysburg and Vicksburg in July 1863 or the fall of Atlanta in September 1864 might also be called pivotal to the outcome of the war. Yet these events might not have occurred without failure of the Confederate of-

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fensive in the fall of 1862. Interconnections between major and trivial events (like lost orders), remind us how much often ascribed to historical inevitability is more properly understood as contingent and dependent on chance.

McPherson writes direct and effective prose, sometimes indulges a sly sense of humor, and skillfully weaves together military, political, and diplomatic history. His book is a treat, ready for the enjoyment of those just embarked on reading about the Civil War and for the contemplation of those long in the field.

—John Y. Simon
Southern Illinois University

HORSES, HOSTAGES, AND APPLE CIDER
J.E.B. Stuart's 1862 Pennsylvania Raid
By John W. Thompson (Mercersburg, Pa.: Mercersburg Printing, 2002. Pp. 112, $65.00, ISBN 0-9679862-2-2).

J.E.B. Stuart's raid into Pennsylvania after the Battle of Antietam played a critical role in costing General George B. McClellan his job as commander of the Army of the Potomac, and added luster to the legend of Lee's cavalry commander.

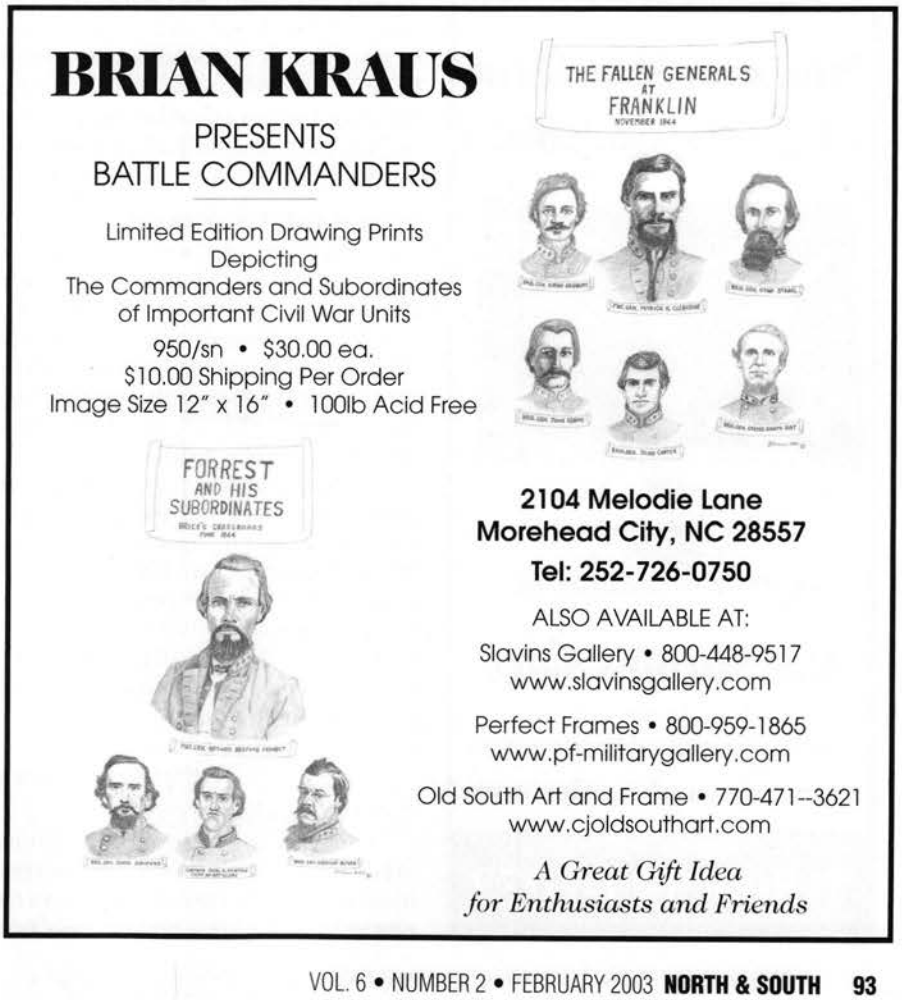
Leather-bound and with full color throughout, the book contains a rich variety of illustrations and detailed maps. The large number of present-day and period photos introduce the reader to all of the key players in the raid, and allow the reader to compare today's landscape with that of the Civil War.

The one drawback of this book is its limited print run; readers interested in the history of Stuart's cavalry should make sure to get a copy of this book while it is still available. It can be ordered from the author at 52 North Main Street, Mercersburg, PA 17236, or by calling (717) 328-4915. It is also available through the Regimental Quartermaster in Gettysburg.

—Jerry Holsworth
Winchester, Virginia

Crossfire

(continued from page 6) available by mail order from the States. For this reason I find the reviews section particularly helpful the titles are well-chosen, adequately covered and generate a lively interest in the material. As for the major features, I find them informative, balanced, and meticulously researched. As an Englishman with an interest in the Civil War I particularly admire the objectivity you manage to bring to bear on what is still an emotive subject. There's a strong editorial presence throughout which, I feel, guides rather than stifles. Congratulations on maintaining such a consistently high standard—and on concentrating on the military aspects of the conflict while recognizing the importance of the broader, social context of the war. Particularly valuable are features which seek—like the re-



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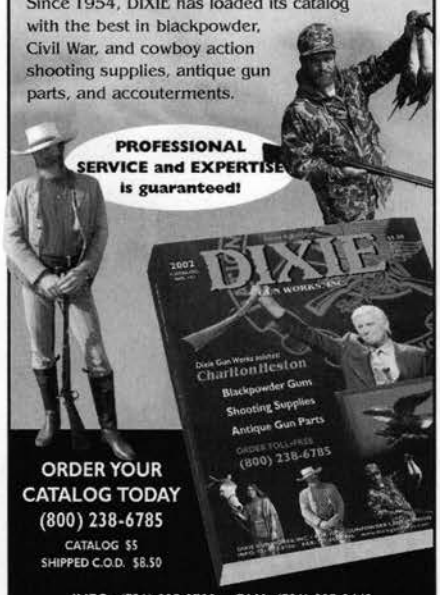

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cent one on Joe Johnston—to uncover and understand the *motives* behind the decisions made by generals in the field. I look forward eagerly to each issue.

—Dr. L J. Parks, Mexborough, South Yorkshire, United Kingdom

JOE JOHNSTON

In Steven Newton's article on Joe Johnston (*N&S*, vol. 5, #6) he claimed that the general was influenced by Frederick the Great's style of fighting.

Joe Johnston was the complete OPPOSITE of Frederick in every way. Frederick's enemies feared his aggressiveness, not his failure to fight battles. Early in the Seven Years War, Frederick attacked them unexpectedly against the most overwhelming odds. Later when his armies had been depleted he fought fewer battles, but the Austrians were inordinately cautious because of his earlier style of fighting.

There are three good books that examine Frederick's generalship.

1. Gerhard Ritter's *Frederick the Great;*
2. Volume 4 of Hans Delbruck's *History of the Art of War;*
3. Christopher Duffy's *The Army of Frederick the Great.*

—Bryce A. Suderow, Washington, D.C.

STEVEN NEWTON RESPONDS:

I would completely agree (and said so in the closing paragraphs of the article) that Joe Johnston lacked Frederick's aggressiveness and propensity toward risk-taking. My argument in the article is that Johnston consciously based his generalship on his understanding of Frederick, but that his understanding was in many respects superficial, and limited by the innate caution in his own character.

"GODS AND GENERALS"

So what's the deal with Bob Dylan and "Gods and Generals"? It seems to me that, of all the singers in the world to associate with a movie about Stonewall Jackson and the Civil War, Bob Dylan is at the very bottom of the list—maybe just one step above Wayne Newton, Eminem, or Miss Spears! Is Ron Maxwell so desperate for the Oscar that he'll bow and scrape before the Hollywood fat-cats and prostitute his movie with the likes of a living and rotting relic of the Fabulous Sixties? When I think of the Civil War, I immediately think of...Bob Dylan, of course. It's too bad Mr. Maxwell couldn't get the dead and much-lamented Jimi Hendrix to do a walk-on as Frederick Douglass! Gentlemen, you may bring up your brigades....

—Sam Cuthbert Hagerstown, Maryland

RON MAXWELL RESPONDS:

I normally don't respond to accusations of being a desperate prostitute, but then again, it isn't every day that Dylan is reviled as a rotting relic. Since Mr. Cuthbert hails from Hagerstown, MD, a town near and dear to my heart—I'll make an exception.

Bob Dylan's new song, written especially for the movie, is a haunting, moving ballad, reminiscent of his earliest works with the added insights of a lifetime. Dylan has in a sense returned to his roots as a folk-country balladeer—the same roots that nourished the mountain men of western Virginia, the home of Thomas Jonathan Jackson, and countless others who fought for both the Blue and the Gray. It isn't easy for a single song to evoke the feelings of an entire war, but Bob Dylan achieves this elusive goal. It is at once specific to our characters and story and universal in its statement on the tragedy of war and the poignancy of the lives swept up in it.

As for Jimi Hendrix, I have all of his albums too.

THE CONFEDERATE HOME GUARD

Professor Newton's article [*N&S*, vol. 6, #1] was most interesting and informative but I wonder why he didn't include Joel Mize's story "The Agonizing Death of Henry Tucker" as an example of how brutal Confederate "Home Guards" could be?

Henry Tucker was mustered out of the 1st Alabama Cavalry (U.S.) in March 1863 and returned to his home in Winston County, Alabama, where, in March 1864, Stokes Robert and his men captured him. According to Mr.Mize, they stripped him naked, cut his heels such as one would to butcher a hog and hung, him head down from a branch.

Stokes Robert proceeded to emasculate him, gouge out his eyes, break his jaw with the blunt end of an axe, cut out his tongue, skin his head and pull it over his face, and then drive pine knots into his kidneys, bowels and heart.

Not satisfied with inflicting these atrocities he finished Tucker off by bashing in his skull with an axe! (http://jmize.home.attbi.com/genealogy/story3b.htm)

Perhaps the professor doesn't believe anyone could be this cruel?

Brian Hogan, Huntsville, Alabama

STEVEN NEWTON RESPONDS:

The Home Guards article did not purport to be a full-scale examination of Stoke Roberts' career. My point was that the same individual could be remembered quite differently after the war, depending on the loyalties of the person doing the remembering. The specific incident with respect to Henry Tucker I saw, considered, and dismissed for inclusion in the article, not because I doubt Roberts' capacity for cruelty, but because it was based on a single account, written from a completely anti-Confederate perspective. Leveling such a charge of atrocity at anyone—living or dead—to my mind requires strong supporting evidence, which no single account can provide. If Mr. Hogan or anyone else has such corroborating evidence, I'd certainly love to see it.

Knapsack

(continued from page 11) generous aid to the suffering people in Kansas by conveying to them clothing and medicine free of expense."

When the war began, American Express did its part by inducing its employees to volunteer for the army and navy. One of the first to go was Daniel Butterfield, then superintendent of American's New York-Buffalo line (and third son of co-founder John Butterfield). Despite having little military experience, save being active in the local militia, Butterfield rose quickly through the ranks, eventually being promoted to Major General. In a gesture of patriotism and goodwill, the directors of American Express promised to hold his job open for him, and continued to pay him his full salary while he served the country.

Indeed, American Express later extended this policy to all its employees by keeping them at no less than half their salary if they volunteered for military service. The directors challenged other corporate leaders to "arouse by every effort the dormant energies of the people...and send men at once to the support of the authorities." Nor did they fear the consequences to the company's bottom line, as their resolution continued: "Our country's necessity will justify us, our large increased earnings will sustain us." The company discontinued the policy for the mass of conscripts raised through the draft, but faithfully kept its promise to the expressmen who had volunteered.

During the war, expressmen were kept busy handling provisions and munitions for contractors, carrying official documents from Washington to commanders in the field, and delivering much-anticipated packages from the homefront to soldiers in camp. *Harper's Weekly* estimated that in addition to the value of the freight, the express companies also handled tens of thousands of dollars in cash daily, and even more on paydays. The American Express directors' prediction of "increased earnings" during the war was well met: the directors voted themselves a $5,000 bonus in consideration of their "extra load of wartime duties," and paid out millions in dividends to their shareholders.

The express companies also played a part in ensuring President Lincoln's re-election in 1864. The prospects of a close contest that autumn demanded attention to every possible constituency, including the vast Union army. Each state retained responsibility for deter-

John Butterfield

William G. Fargo

Henry Wells.

Guns and ammunition being shipped to the front by express during the Civil War. An Adams truck is transferring the munitions to a steamer at the New York docks. All reproduced from Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Waybills: The Romance of the Express Companies* (New York/London: 1934).

COVER STORY

"FIRST MINNESOTA"

The cover painting by Don Troiani depicts men of the First Minnesota Infantry moments before they are ordered forward by General Hancock in a suicidal charge intended to buy time for the hard pressed Army of the Potomac at Gettysburg on the afternoon of July 2, 1863. Two-thirds of the men became casualties.

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mining the process by which the soldiers' vote was to be handled; the daunting duty of delivering ballots to the many thousands of New Yorkers in uniform fell to Secretary of State Chauncey Depew. With a list of the units' locations in hand, Depew applied to the express companies for assistance in delivering the ballots. To his disappointment, they all begged off on the ground that they were not equipped to handle such an operation.

The determined Depew called on American Express co-founder John Butterfield, then retired and living quietly on his farm near Utica. Years later, Depew remembered: "He [Butterfield] was intensely patriotic and ashamed of the lack of enterprise shown by the express companies. He said to me: 'If they cannot do this work they ought to retire.' He at once organized what was practically an express company, taking in all those in existence and adding many new features for the sole purpose of distributing the ballots and gathering the soldiers' votes. It was a gigantic task and successfully executed by this patriotic old gentleman."

If the Civil War proved a boon to the express business, then World War I spelled its doom. Indeed, even before the "Great War," Congress dealt the companies and their profits a serious blow when it enacted the "Parcel Post Law" in 1913, enabling the postal service to carry small packages as ordinary mail. In 1914, H.F. Millard, an American Express travel agent in Springfield, Massachusetts, wrote a poignant letter to the manager of American's Boston office, expressing his disappointment at the government's action. After recounting the contributions American Express had made during the Civil War, particularly in aiding Lincoln, Millard lamented: "and now that same country, that the express companies served so well, is trying to drive them out of business."

When America entered World War I in 1917, the government took over the railroads to facilitate movements of troops and materiel. With their lifeline gone, the few remaining express companies faced mounting backlogs of shipments and millions of dollars in losses and lawsuits. Eventually, the government decided to extend its control to the express companies as well. In 1918, it consolidated the major express companies of the day: American, Adams, Southern, and Wells Fargo, as the nationalized "American Railway Express Company." Southern Express passed out of existence altogether, but Adams Express remains as an investment trust, and Wells Fargo as a banking interest. American Express is a global travel, financial services, and charge card provider. □

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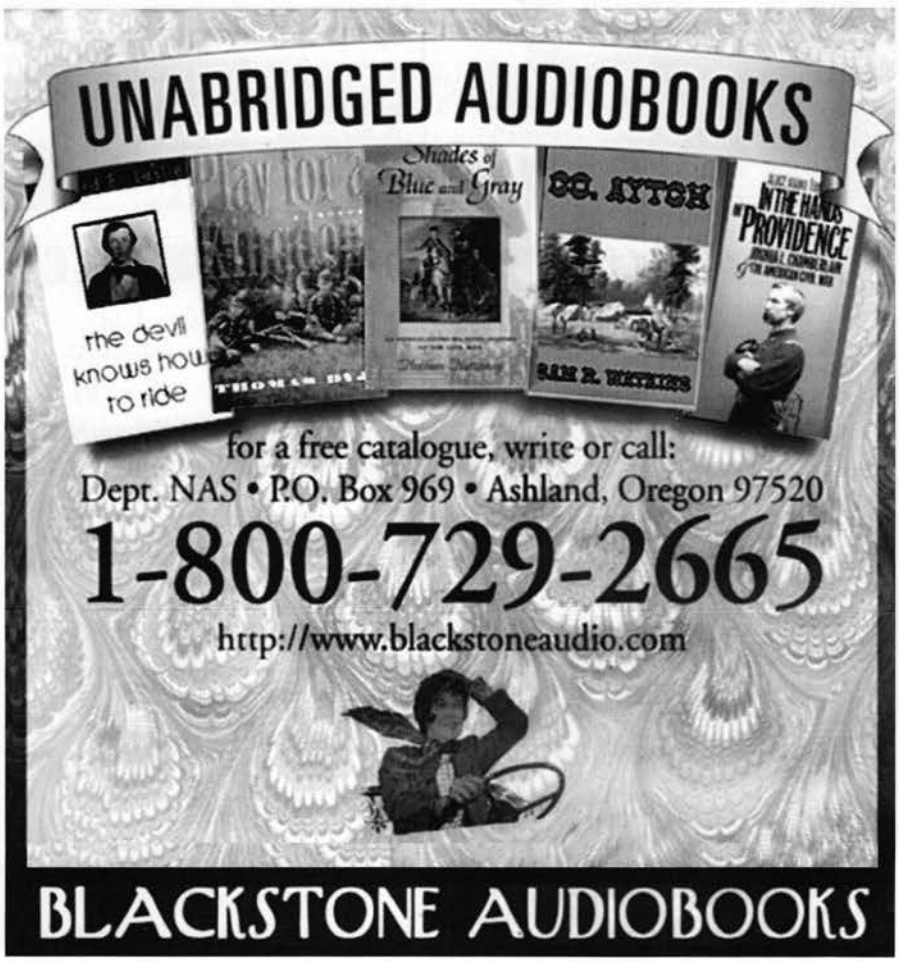

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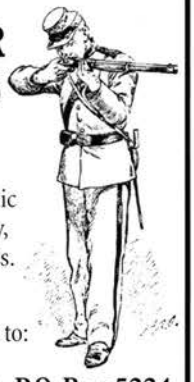

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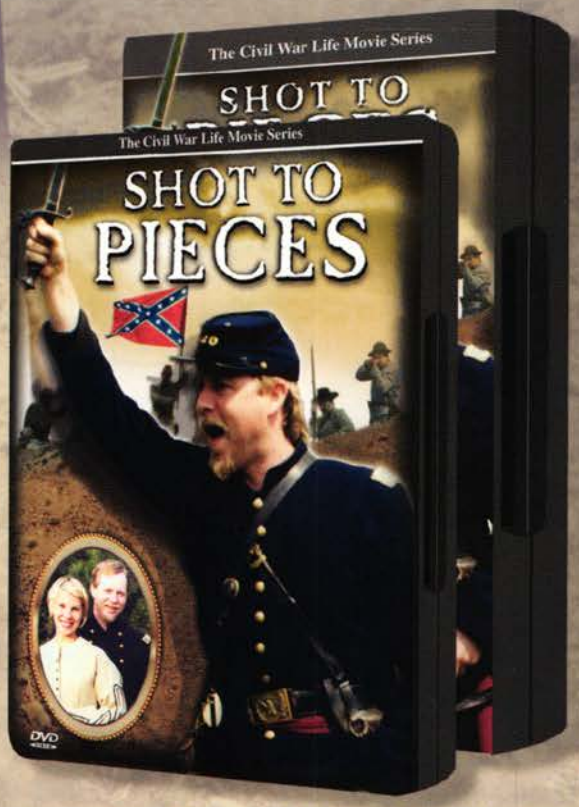

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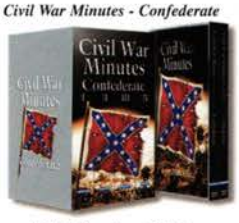

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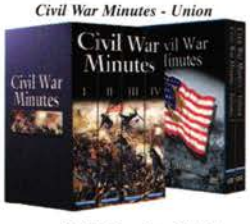

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